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HOMERIC HYMNS

HOMERIC APOCRYPHA

LIVES OF HOMER

LCL 496

HOMERIC HYMNS  
HOMERIC APOCRYPHA  
LIVES OF HOMER

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
MARTIN L. WEST



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## PREFACE

In the old Loeb Classical Library edition by H. G. Evelyn-White, which originally appeared in 1914, the poems and fragments of Hesiod were coupled with the Homeric Hymns and Epigrams, the remains of the Epic Cycle and of other poems associated with Homer's name (including the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*), and the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*. This material is now being distributed across three new volumes, each of which will contain a considerable amount of extra matter. The present one contains the Hymns and the other Homerica. Besides the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* I have included a fragment of a perhaps earlier poem of the same type, a *Battle of the Weasel and the Mice*. To accompany the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* I have gathered in the whole collection of ancient Lives of Homer. The so-called Homeric Epigrams, which Evelyn-White printed on their own, are here given in the contexts in which they are preserved, dispersed through the pseudo-Herodotean Life.

I have edited and arranged the texts according to my own judgment, but relied on existing editions for information about manuscript readings. The nature of the Loeb series precludes the provision of the fullest philological detail about variant readings or scholars' conjectures. I have nevertheless tried to ensure that the reader is alerted

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to the significant textual uncertainties. In places I have made minor orthographical changes without signalling the fact.

It is a pleasant duty to thank Dr. Nikolaos Gonis for bringing to my attention an unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyrus containing parts of two of the Homeric Hymns.

Martin L. West  
Oxford, May 2002

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

CAG	M. Hayduck and others, <i>Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca</i> (Berlin, 1882–1909)
CEG	P. A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> (Berlin and New York, 1983–1989)
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
FGrHist	Felix Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–1958)
FHG	Carolus et Theodorus Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (Paris, 1841–1873)
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (Zurich and Munich, 1981–1999)
Mus. Helv.	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
NGG	<i>Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
OCD <sup>3</sup>	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , third edition (Oxford, 1996)

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<i>PMG</i>	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962)
<i>PMGF</i>	<i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. M. Davies (Oxford, 1991)
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1894–1980)
<i>Rh. Mus.</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
<i>SVF</i>	H. von Arnim, <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (Leipzig, 1903–1905)
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
[ ]	words restored where the manuscript is damaged
⌈ ⌋	letters deleted by scribe
< >	editorial insertion
{ }	editorial deletion
† †	corruption in text
*	(attached to a fragment number) uncertain attribution

# HOMERIC HYMNS

## INTRODUCTION

### *Nature and Purpose of the Hymns*

When a rhapsode gave a performance of epic poetry in a formal setting—a complete short epic, or an episode from a longer one—it was the custom to begin with a hymnic address to a god or goddess. There is an allusion to the practice in the *Odyssey* (8.499), where Demodocus, in fulfilling Odysseus' request for the story of the Wooden Horse, "began from the god." Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* each begin with a hymn (to the Muses and to Zeus respectively), followed by a transition to the main matter of the poem. Crates knew a copy of the *Iliad* that had a prefatory hymn to the Muses and Apollo attached.<sup>1</sup> Pindar compares an athlete's victorious debut at the Nemean Games, which were sacred to Zeus, with the fact that "the Homeridai, the singers of stitched words, generally begin from a *prohoimion* to Zeus."<sup>2</sup> *Prohoimion* means what precedes the *hoimē*, a term used in the *Odyssey* (8.74, 481; 22.347) for the theme of an epic singer's narrative.

The so-called Homeric Hymns are a collection of thirty-three such *prohoimia*. In fact when Thucydides

<sup>1</sup> See the Appendix Romana B, edited in this volume after the Lives.

<sup>2</sup> *Nemean* 2.1.



## HOMERIC HYMNS

(3.104.4) quotes from the *Hymn to Apollo*, he calls it not a hymn but a *prohoimion*. Socrates is said to have composed a *prohoimion* to Apollo in prison, besides versifying some Aesopic fables (Plato, *Phaedo* 60d). Later authors, however, cite poems from the collection as "hymns," and their title in the manuscripts is 'Ομήρου ὕμνοι, "the Hymns of Homer." Their original prefatory function is confirmed by internal evidence. Nine of them (2, 11, 13, 16, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31) refer at the outset to "beginning" from the deity, that is, to celebrating him or her first. Most of them end with a salute to the deity, often followed by the announcement that the singer will now pass on to another subject: "I will take heed both for you and for other singing," or some such formula. In the late Hymns 31 and 32 it is made explicit that the transition will be to narrative about the deeds of heroes. Sometimes (2, 6, 10, 11, 13, 15, 20, 22, 24–26, 30–31) the ending includes a brief prayer for assistance, favor, or prosperity.

The first thing that strikes the reader of the Hymns is the enormous disparity in their length. A few of them run to hundreds of lines; there are two of intermediate length, Hymn 7 of fifty-nine verses and Hymn 19 of forty-nine; of the rest, none exceeds twenty-two lines, and fifteen are of under ten. There is, then, a basic distinction between long and short Hymns. What distinguishes the long ones is the inclusion of an extended narrative about the deity's birth or some other mythical episode in which he or she was involved. The short ones limit themselves to summary mythical references, indications of the god's spheres of influence, or description of his or her typical activity. A few of them are essentially mere excerpts from longer poems: Hymns 13, 17, and 18 from the longer Hymns to Demeter,

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the Dioscuri, and Hermes respectively, and Hymn 25 from Hesiod's *Theogony*.<sup>3</sup>

Thucydides quotes the *Hymn to Apollo* as the work of Homer, and with one exception (to be considered presently) no other author is ever named for any of the Hymns. However, the third Anonymous Life of Homer preserves an ancient scholarly opinion that the only genuine works of Homer were the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and that "the *Hymns* and the rest of the poems attributed to him are to be reckoned alien." To the modern critic it is clear from differences of language, political reference, and geographical outlook that the Hymns were composed by various authors in various places, at dates ranging probably from the second half of the seventh century BC to at least the fifth century, possibly even later. Their authors' names were not recorded because rhapsodes did not claim individual credit for what they added to the inherited stock of hexameter poetry. They dealt in traditional matter, and those of them at least who called themselves Homeridai, the Sons of Homer, regarded it as all coming down to them from their supposed ancestor "Homer."<sup>4</sup> The authors of the Hymns often show their acquaintance with the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and Hesiod, and sometimes with other poems in the Hymn collection itself. This is not surprising in view of the Hymns' creation and transmission among a professional rhapsode class.

Most of them, we may suppose, were originally com-

<sup>3</sup> Hymn 13.1-2 ~ 2.1-2, 493; Hymn 17.2-5 ~ 33.2-5, 18; Hymn 18.2-9 ~ 4.2-9; Hymn 25.2-5 ~ Hes. *Th.* 94-97.

<sup>4</sup> See M. L. West, "The Invention of Homer," *CQ* 49 (1999), 364-382.

## HOMERIC HYMNS

posed for recitation in a particular setting, at some particular festival or gathering. Sometimes a specific local reference is apparent from the poem itself. Of the long Hymns, that to Demeter obviously stands in intimate relationship to the Eleusinian Mysteries, while that to Apollo contains a vivid depiction of the Delian festival at which the poet is participating. Other local references will be mentioned below. In some cases the rhapsode was in competition for a prize; the poet of Hymn 6 prays to Aphrodite to "grant me victory in this contest, and order my singing."

### *Individual Hymns*

In first place stand four fragments of what was evidently a long *Hymn to Dionysus*. Two come from ancient quotations, one of them overlapped by a papyrus; a third is given by another papyrus; the fourth, from the conclusion of the poem, survives in a manuscript of the Hymns, preceding the *Hymn to Demeter*.<sup>5</sup> It apparently contained the story, well known to poets and vase painters from around 600 BC, of how Dionysus came to be received in Olympus and accepted by Hera. When she gave birth to Hephaestus she was disgusted at the crippled child she had borne and threw him down from heaven into the sea. There he stayed for years with the Nereids, perfecting his engineering skills. Then he sent his mother a fine throne, in which he had incorporated a secret mechanism. When she sat down in it, she found herself trapped. None of the other gods was

<sup>5</sup> For the connection of the fragments and a reconstruction of the content see M. L. West, "The Fragmentary Homeric Hymn to Dionysus," *ZPE* 134 (2001), 1–11.

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able to free her. It was clear that Hephaestus had to be induced to come back and undo what he had done. Ares undertook to go and fetch him by force. He went off, but failed to achieve his object, because Hephaestus defended himself with fire, which Ares could not face. Then Dionysus went equipped with wine, made Hephaestus drunk, and brought him back to Olympus in jolly mood, riding on a donkey or mule. He set Hera free, and she rewarded Dionysus by persuading the other Olympians to admit him to their number.

There is nothing in the fragments inconsistent with a dating to the later seventh century, so that the popularity of the story may be due to the currency of the hymn. The denial of Naxos' claim to be the god's birthplace (fr. A 3 ff.) is against a Naxian origin for the poem. On the other hand, the emphasis on Drakanos and Ikaros as claimants, the one a promontory in Cos, the other an island near Samos, does indicate the southeast Aegean as the poet's vantage point.

The *Hymn to Demeter* (2) remained unknown to the world until C. F. Matthaei's discovery of the manuscript M in Moscow in 1777 and Ruhnkenius' editions of 1780 and 1782. It is actually a hymn to both Demeter and Persephone, the presiding goddesses of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and it contains the Mysteries' foundation myth. It relates how Persephone was carried off to the lower world by Hades; how her grieving mother Demeter searched for her, came in the guise of an old woman to the house of Keleos the king of Eleusis, and was engaged to nurse the infant Demophon; how she was caught putting him in the fire at night, which would have made him immortal, and then revealed her divinity; how her continuing grief held

the world barren, until Zeus commanded Hades to release Persephone; and how, before Demeter returned to Olympus, she instructed the Eleusinians to build her a temple and taught their lords her secret rites, which enable the initiate to enjoy a happier fate after death than the rest of us. Various details of the mythical narrative implicitly foreshadow ritual usages or taboos: Demeter's wandering with torches (48), her fasting and abstention from washing (49–50, 200), her sitting at the Maiden's Well (98 f.), her silent sitting on a stool covered by a fleece (195–199), the ribald jesting of Iambe (the eponymous representative of the *iambos*, 202–205), the breaking of the fast with a specially prepared barley potion, the *kykeōn* (208–211).<sup>6</sup>

The Hymn was clearly composed for recitation at Eleusis, perhaps at the Eleusinian Games which were held three years out of every four. Later it may have been taken up as a sacred text. In a papyrus of the first century BC (P.Berol. 13044) we find a prose narrative of the Persephone myth with verse quotations from "Orpheus": the prose account diverges from that of the Homeric Hymn, but the verses are all oral variants of the Hymn, which had evidently been adopted (perhaps also adapted) as an official scripture and put under Orpheus' name to enhance its authority. We know that Eleusis adopted Orpheus as the revealer and founder of the Mysteries not later than the fourth century BC.<sup>7</sup>

But the Hymn is a good deal older than that. As it con-

<sup>6</sup> See N. J. Richardson's commentary on these passages.

<sup>7</sup> Fritz Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 1974), 22–39; Richardson, 12, 77–86; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983), 24.

## INTRODUCTION

tains no mention of Athens, it is assumed to date from before the time of Pisistratus, when the Mysteries came under Athenian control. On the other hand its poet seems to make use, not only of Hesiod and the Homeric epics, but also of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*. The poem may be dated with some probability to the first half of the sixth century.

The *Hymn to Apollo* (3) is a work of exceptional literary-historical interest for several reasons. Firstly, as has been almost universally accepted since Ruhnkenius (1782), it is a pantomime horse, a combination of two originally separate poems: a Delian hymn, performed at Delos and concerned with Apollo's birth there, ending at line 178; and a Pythian hymn, concerned with his arrival and establishment at Delphi. The two parts differ markedly in their geographical outlook, and to some extent in language. Secondly, the singer of the Delian hymn refers to himself as a blind man who lives on Chios, and boasts that all of his songs are acknowledged as supreme (172–3); from at least the time of Thucydides (3.104.5) this was taken to be a statement of Homer himself. Thirdly, it is reported that this hymn (whether the whole, or the Delian part only, is unclear) was displayed on a white painted panel (λεύκωμα) in the Delian temple of Artemis (*Certamen* 18). And fourthly, for this alone of all the Hymns<sup>8</sup> an author other than Homer is named. A scholiast on Pindar, explaining that poet's reference to Homeridai (*Nemean* 2.1), writes: "Homeridai' was the name given anciently to the members of Homer's family, who also sang

<sup>8</sup> To disregard the appropriation of the *Hymn to Demeter* for Orpheus.



his poetry in succession. But later it was also given to the rhapsodes, who no longer traced their descent back to Homer. Particularly prominent were Cynaethus and his school, who, they say, composed many of the verses and inserted them into Homer's work. This Cynaethus came from a Chian family, and, of the poems that bear Homer's name, it was he who wrote the *Hymn to Apollo* and laid it to his credit. And this Cynaethus was the first to recite Homer's poems at Syracuse, in the 69th Olympiad (= 504/501 BC), as Hippostratus says" (*FGrHist* 568 F 5).<sup>9</sup>

Scholars have interpreted and combined these data in many different ways. No survey of the controversy can be attempted here.<sup>10</sup> The present editor's view of the matter is as follows.

The Pythian hymn is the older of the two, composed in central Greece shortly after the First Sacred War, when the Delphic sanctuary was wrested from Crisa's control by an alliance of Phocians and others and Crisa itself was destroyed (591/590 BC): the warning in lines 540–543 is a *post eventum* prophecy referring to the change of governance.<sup>11</sup> The hymn was perhaps recited at the first Pythian Games in 586.

<sup>9</sup> Hippostratus was a Hellenistic historian who specialized in Sicilian history.

<sup>10</sup> Karl Förstel, *Untersuchungen zum Homerischen Apollonhymnus* (Diss. Bochum, 1979), 20–62, gives a full account up to 1975. See further Walter Burkert, *Homerica* (*Kleine Schriften* i, Göttingen, 2001), 189–197; Richard Janko, *Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns* (Cambridge, 1982), 99–132.

<sup>11</sup> See especially Pierre Guillon, *Le Bouclier d'Héraclès et l'histoire de la Grèce centrale dans la période de la première guerre sacrée* (Aix-en-Provence, 1963), 85–101.

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Half a century later the Chian poet Cynaethus composed a hymn for a Delian festival that was attended by Ionians from far and wide. He knew the Pythian hymn and to some extent used it as a model. His poem comprised lines 1–18, 30–94, 97, 96, 102–104, 107–143, 179–180, and 146–178 of our hymn, with a couple of verses between 18 and 30 to initiate the narrative of Leto's wanderings. As a member of the Homeridai, who were just starting to promulgate the legend of their great imaginary ancestor Homer, Cynaethus claimed that his own poetry had been handed down from Homer: the verses about the blind Chian were supposed to be Homer's own utterance at a much earlier Delian festival. The Delians were delighted to learn this, and had the poem set up in the temple for public contemplation.

In 523 BC Polycrates, the great ruler of Samos, announced that he was going to celebrate a combined Delian and Pythian festival on Delos in honour of Apollo. For this occasion Cynaethus produced a combined Delian–Pythian hymn by conflating the older Pythian hymn with his own Delian one. He suppressed the beginning of the Pythian poem and tacked the remainder on to the Delian, making an awkward join.<sup>12</sup> The Pythian poet had prefaced his narrative with a review of various options: “How shall I sing of you? Shall it be how Leto gave birth to you in Delos; or how you courted various girls; or how you travelled in search of a place for your oracle?” Cynaethus could not

<sup>12</sup> It may be, as some have thought, that he omitted the passage about the Delian festival (147–176), passing from 142 or 145 to 179. This makes the join with 182 easier, though it remains clumsy.



leave the first of these options in place; he transferred it to serve as the introduction to his Delian birth narrative (19–29; the rest remained at 207–215). He made a place in his story for Hera, the great goddess of Polycrates' island, who had been ignored in the first version (95–101,<sup>13</sup> 105–106). He also brought her into the Pythian part by means of an interpolated episode (305–356) which crassly interrupts the narrative about Apollo and is of no relevance to him.

Because these changes were not made by oral recombination in performance but by cutting and splicing written texts, the joints and discontinuities remain plainly visible, and it is comparatively easy to analyse the composite hymn into its constituent parts.

It looks very much as if Thucydides still knew the Delian hymn as an independent poem. Some rhapsodes may have learned it from the Delian inscription and kept it in circulation for a time. Sometime before the final redaction of the Homeric Hymns, a version of this Delian poem was collated with the Delian–Pythian composite and certain variants incorporated.

The *Hymn to Hermes* (4) is distinctive in other ways. Of all the earlier Greek hexameter poems, it is without doubt the most amusing. It is also the most untraditional in its language, with many late words and expressions, and many used in slapdash and inaccurate ways; and it is the most incompetent in construction, with many narrative inconsistencies and redundancies and no command of the even tempo appropriate to epic storytelling.

<sup>13</sup> Reversing the original order of 97 and 96.

## INTRODUCTION

The narrative begins with Hermes' birth in the mountains of Arcadia and ends with his establishment as an honored member of the divine company on Olympus and a special friend of Apollo. The story in between, like that of the fragmentary Dionysus hymn, or Demodocus' tale of Ares and Aphrodite in *Odyssey* 8, or Hera's seduction of Zeus in *Iliad* 14, is one that portrays the gods in a humorous light, playing tricks on one another for their own purposes. Here the trickery is basic to Hermes' nature as god of thieving and deception as well as of pastoralism. As a newborn baby not yet a day old, he slips out from his crib, bent on mischief. Finding a tortoise, he at once sees its potentialities, kills it, and makes its shell into the first lyre. Then he crosses half Greece and steals fifty of Apollo's cattle. Concealing their tracks by a cunning artifice, he brings them to the river Alpheios, where he slaughters and roasts two of them, incidentally inventing the method of creating fire from firesticks. Before the night is over he slips back into his crib and plays the innocent. But Apollo tracks him down and hales him to judgment before Zeus, who is heartily amused and commands the two of them to be reconciled. Hermes gives Apollo the lyre in exchange for the cows; he thus becomes the god of the lyre, while Hermes is confirmed as god of the pastures.

Besides accounting for some of the two gods' functions and the inventions of the lyre and the firesticks, the Hymn also contains an aetiological element relating to cult.<sup>14</sup> In killing the two cows by the Alpheios, Hermes uses sacrificial procedures, and when he has roasted the meat he lays it out in twelve portions, to each of which a fixed rank is as-

<sup>14</sup> Burkert, *Homerica*, 178–188.

signed by lot. He refrains from eating any of it, appetizing though it is. All this must be connected with the sacrifices at Olympia, which is by the Alpheios, to the Twelve Gods. Pindar speaks of Heracles, the founder of the Olympic Games, "honoring the stream of Alpheios with the twelve ruler gods" (*Olympian* 10.48). Hermes was associated with Apollo there, for the two shared one of the six altars (Herodorus, fr. 34 Fowler). It seems likely, therefore, that the Hymn was composed for performance at Olympia. It alludes in lines 124–126 to the hides of the slaughtered cows being still visible where Hermes spread them out on a rock: presumably the reference is to some rock formation that looked like a pair of spread hides.

It is generally agreed on grounds of style and diction that it must be the latest of the major Hymns. The subject matter was already familiar to Alcaeus, whose lyric hymn to Hermes covered similar ground.<sup>15</sup> Alcaeus very likely knew a "Homeric" hymn on the subject. But to date our Hymn as early as 600 is implausible: it contains too many words and expressions that are not paralleled before the fifth century. The likelihood is that it is a later descendant of the hymn that Alcaeus knew.<sup>16</sup>

The *Hymn to Aphrodite* (5), by contrast, is probably the oldest of the long Hymns, and it is the closest in style to the epics. In fact it has a special connection with the sub-

<sup>15</sup> See D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford, 1955), 252–258.

<sup>16</sup> For further arguments for a fifth-century dating see Herwig Görgemanns, "Rhetorik und Poetik im homerischen Hermes-hymnus," in H. Görgemanns and E. A. Schmidt (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Epos* (Meisenheim, 1976), 113–128.

## INTRODUCTION

ject matter of the epics about Troy, for the myth told in it relates to the birth of one of the major Trojan heroes, Aeneas, and it does not serve to document the goddess's divine power but rather a temporary weakness to which she succumbed and of which she is somewhat ashamed. Previously she had enjoyed making other gods compromise their dignity by falling in love with a mortal; but by making her fall for Anchises, Zeus has put a stop to that for the future. However, the union that is an embarrassment for the goddess is a matter of glory for the heroic family that issues from it, and this is the real point of the poem. Aphrodite tells Anchises that "you are to have a dear son who will rule among the Trojans, as will the children born to his children continually" (196 f.). The inference is that there was a princely family in the Troad in the poet's time that claimed descent from Aeneas and suzerainty over "Trojans." The Hymn was composed for the gratification of this family rather than of the goddess.<sup>17</sup>

There is a very similar prophecy about the descendants of Aeneas in the *Iliad* (20.307 f.), and that poet too must have been in contact with the same aristocratic family. There cannot be a huge difference in time, probably a generation at most, between these two celebrations of the Aeneadae. Karl Reinhardt even argued that the *Hymn to*

<sup>17</sup> This widely accepted conclusion has been forcefully contested by P. M. Smith, "Aineiadae as Patrons of *Iliad* XX and the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*," *HSCP* 85 (1981), 17–58. What his arguments do show is that the Aineiadae implied in the Hymn and the *Iliad* cannot be identified with any mentioned by later historical sources, such as those in Scepsis (Strabo 13.1.52–53, following Demetrius of Scepsis).

*Aphrodite* was by the poet of the *Iliad* himself.<sup>18</sup> It was not a preposterous idea, but subsequent scholars have given good grounds for seeing the poet of the Hymn as an epigone with his own narrative style, a slightly more developed vocabulary, and a derivative use of the Homeric epics and Hesiod. We shall not go far wrong if we place him in the last third of the seventh century.

*Hymn 6*, again to *Aphrodite*, is notable for its explicit reference to a rhapsodic contest which the poet hopes to win. The emphasis on the goddess's power in Cyprus suggests that island as the venue; the panegyris at Old Paphos (Strabo 14.6.3) might be a plausible occasion. The description of *Aphrodite's* dressing and adornment resembles fragments 5–6 of the *Cypria*, an epic that also came from Cyprus.

*Hymn 7* relates a story about *Dionysus's* capture by pirates which is otherwise first alluded to by Pindar (fr. 236 Snell). The conjunction of Egypt and the Hyperboreans (28–29) also makes a link with that poet (*Isthmian* 6.23), and the Hymn is not likely to be very much earlier than Pindar in date. It is difficult not to see some connection with the famous black-figure cup by Exekias, dating from about 530 BC, which depicts *Dionysus* reclining at ease on shipboard, with a grape vine growing up above the mast,

<sup>18</sup> *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* (Göttingen, 1961), 507–521. Detailed studies in reaction to Reinhardt: Ernst Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnos, Aeneas und Homer* (*Hypomnemata* 15, Göttingen, 1965); Henryk Podbielski, *La structure de l'Hymne homérique à Aphrodite* (Polish Academy, 1971); L. H. Lenz, *Der homerische Aphroditehymnus und die Aristie des Aineias in der Ilias* (Bonn, 1975).

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enormous grape clusters hanging from it over the ship, and a number of dolphins in the sea round about. The painting need not presuppose the myth, as the dolphins can be understood as a conventional feature of the sea, and the vine as a mark of the god's sacred ship, which played a part in his cult. On the other hand it is possible to imagine that the myth was inspired by the painting.

*Hymn 8* (Ares) is a late intruder among the Homeric Hymns, as has long been recognized. It is probably the work of the Neoplatonist Proclus (fifth century AD), and has through some accident migrated here from the collection of his *Hymns*, which in the Middle Ages were transmitted in company with the Homeric Hymns, the Orphic Hymns, and the Hymns of Callimachus.<sup>19</sup>

*Hymn 9* (Artemis) describes the goddess driving her chariot through Smyrna to her brother's shrine at Claros. The poem no doubt comes from that area, and it should date from before Alyattes' destruction of Smyrna around 600 BC.

*Hymn 10* (Aphrodite), like *Hymn 6*, dwells on the goddess's power in Cyprus, and in this case the city of Salamis is specifically mentioned. That is where the poem is likely to have been performed.

*Hymn 12* may possibly have been composed for one of Hera's festivals on Samos, the principal centre of her cult in classical times.

*Hymn 15* (Heracles) is not likely to antedate the sixth

<sup>19</sup> See M. L. West, "The Eighth Homeric Hymn and Proclus," *CQ* 20 (1970), 300–304. Thomas Gelzer, *Museum Helveticum* 44 (1987), 150–167, argues that the hymn predates Proclus and is from Porphyry or his circle.

century, as there is no earlier evidence for the cult of Heracles as a god. It was held to have been an Attic innovation. There was a major Heracles festival at Marathon every four years, and this would be one possible setting for the Hymn. Some scholars have conjectured that it was designed as a prelude to an epic about Heracles.

*Hymn 16* is made up of conventional elements that continued to appear for centuries in hymns and paeans to Asclepius. Matthiae thought it might have been composed for the Epidaurian Asclepieia; Epidaurus is certainly the major center of the cult, but there were many others.

*Hymn 18* is abstracted, as noted above, from the long *Hymn to Hermes*. In the last line the god is addressed with the unusual title *χαριδότης*, "bestower of favor." There was a Samian festival at which he was so styled (Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 303d).

*Hymn 19* celebrates the Arcadian god Pan, who did not become widely known until the early fifth century. The language of the Hymn and the romantic imaginative description of Pan dancing with the nymphs suit a fifth-century dating.

*Hymn 20* associates Hephaestus as god of crafts with Athena, and sees these crafts as the means by which the human race has raised itself from living in caves to a civilized way of life. This concept of human progress from a primitive state was an invention of the mid fifth century, associated with the sophist Protagoras. The pairing of Hephaestus and Athena is Athenian, and the little poem was probably composed for the Attic Hephaestia sometime in the second half of the fifth century.

*Hymn 22* praises Poseidon as lord of Helicon and Aegae. This is an error for Helice and Aegae, the two towns



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in Achaea sacred to Poseidon (*Iliad* 8.203). The source of the error is the title *Helikōnios*, under which the god was worshipped in several Ionian cities, and especially at the Panionian festival on Mt. Mycale until its cessation in the early fifth century; the ancients tried to derive *Helikōnios* from Helice. The Hymn may have been composed for the Panionia.

*Hymn 24* (Hestia) refers to the goddess's association with Apollo at Delphi, but asks her to come to "this house" together with Zeus. Allen and Sikes suggested that the occasion was the dedication of a temple—of Zeus, presumably.

*Hymn 26* (Dionysus) was performed at a festival of an annual nature, as appears from the closing prayer. It agrees with *Hymn 1* in locating the god's birth on Mt. Nysa; whether this is an indication that it comes from the same area is questionable.

*Hymns 31* and *32*, to the Sun and Moon, are a matching pair and clearly the work of one poet. They must be among the latest poems in the collection. There is a clue to their origin in the reference to a daughter of the Moon called Pandia (32.15), for this obscure figure featured in an Attic genealogy: she was the wife of Antiochos, the eponymous hero of the Antiochid *phylē*.<sup>20</sup>

*Hymn 33*, to the Dioscuri, is one of three Hymns (the others being 1 and 4) whose content was paralleled in lyric hymns by Alcaeus. He evidently knew a hexameter hymn to the Dioscuri which had some similarity to ours. Matthiae conjectured that this Hymn was the prelude to a

<sup>20</sup> Apollodorus, *FGrHist* 244 F 162 as corrected by Albert Henrichs, *Cronache Ercolanesi* 5 (1975), 13 n. 40.



## HOMERIC HYMNS

longer narrative about the Dioscuri. He compared Theocritus, *Idyll* 22, where a similar arrangement is seen.<sup>21</sup>

### *The Formation of the Collection. Transmission*

The passages cited from Pindar and Thucydides at the beginning of this Introduction show that the fifth-century public was familiar with the *prohoimion* as a genre, and that at least some specimens of it had achieved wide currency. Perhaps it was already possible to find books in which a number of "the Hymns of Homer" had been gathered together. But in pre-Alexandrian times there was probably no agreement in respect of which poems were included or in what order.

The earliest extant references to the Hymns as a collection come from Philodemus and Diodorus in the first century BC. Philodemus' citations perhaps go back to the great work of Apollodorus *On the Gods*, written a century earlier. So far as we can see, the collection of "Hymns of Homer" that these authors cite is the same one that has come down to us. A standard edition had emerged, perhaps from the hand of one of the Alexandrian scholars, though Aristarchus at least seems to have had no interest in the Hymns. Evidence of the editorial process is to be seen in the presence, at several places in the Hymns, of alternative versions side by side in the text.<sup>22</sup> The editor must have found divergent rhapsodes' recensions in different copies

<sup>21</sup> For comparison of the Hymn with the poems of Alcaeus and Theocritus, see Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 265–268.

<sup>22</sup> The clearest examples are: 1.4–6/7 and 8–10/11–12; 3.136–138/139; 5.97/98 and 274–275/276–277; 18.10–11/12.

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and, rather than choose one to the exclusion of the other, included both, with appropriate critical signs in the margin. A remnant of these signs survives in one group of manuscripts at 3.136–139.

The order in which the Hymns are arranged is not random, though not governed by any single principle. The long Hymns precede the short ones, but the latter sequence is somewhat disturbed by the forty-nine-line *Hymn to Pan* (19). From 9 to 14 we have a series of goddesses, and they are followed in 15–17 by deified men (Heracles, Asclepius, the Dioscuri). In 27–30 come another group of goddesses (again following a hymn to Dionysus). The last of these, Earth as the universal mother, is followed up by two more deities of a cosmic nature (Sun and Moon), and finally by the Dioscuri considered especially in their meteorological aspect.

The Hymns were not widely read. The number of ancient quotations and allusions is not large, and apart from the "Orphic" version of the *Hymn to Demeter* only four papyrus fragments have been identified. The medieval tradition is not a strong one. None of the extant manuscripts is earlier than the fifteenth century, and the text is much less well preserved than that of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. There are many corrupt readings (some of them incurable), verses have fallen out in about a dozen places, and a couple of times the order of lines is disturbed.

Sometime in late antiquity, or more likely in the early Middle Ages, the Homeric Hymns were gathered together in one codex with the Orphic *Argonautica* and Hymns and the Hymns of Callimachus and Proclus. The order, to judge from the majority of the surviving manuscripts of these works, was Orpheus, Proclus, Homer, Callimachus.

## HOMERIC HYMNS

At some stage, as noted above, Proclus' hymn to Ares became displaced and continued its career as the eighth Homeric Hymn. All our manuscripts are descended from a copy which had this displacement.

There is a clear division within the tradition between M, the manuscript discovered by Matthaei in Moscow in 1777,<sup>23</sup> and all the other manuscripts, twenty-eight in number, which derive from a lost archetype designated as  $\Psi$ . M alone preserves the *Hymn to Demeter*, and it would have preserved the long *Hymn to Dionysus* too if a quinion had not fallen out, leaving only the last few lines on the page on which the Demeter hymn begins. These two poems were absent from  $\Psi$ . The texts of M and  $\Psi$  often diverge quite strikingly up to 18.4, where M ceases.

$\Psi$  is thought to have been a paper codex of the thirteenth century; it may have been brought from Constantinople to Italy in 1423 by Ioannes Aurispa.<sup>24</sup> Its descendants fall into three families, designated *f*, *p*, and *x*. The hyparchetype of the *x* manuscripts contained a number of marginal variants drawn from a source apparently independent of  $\Psi$ ; this source is designated *y*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Now in Leiden, University Library, cod. BPG 33H; written by Ioannes Eugenikos, probably in Constantinople sometime after 1439. See Thomas Gelzer, "Zum Codex Mosquensis und zur Sammlung der *Homerischen Hymnen*," *Hyperboreus* 1 (1994), 113–136.

<sup>24</sup> See Rudolf Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* II (Oxford, 1953), lxxxi f.

<sup>25</sup> For more detailed accounts see P. S. Breuning, *De Hymnorum Homericorum memoria* (Traiecti ad Rhenum, 1929); Allen-Halliday, xi–lviii; Jean Humbert, *Homère: Hymnes* (Paris, 1937), 12–15; Filippo Càssola, *Inni omerici* (Milan, 1975), 593–613.

## SIGLA AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Manuscript sigla*

Π1	Berlin papyrus 13044 (first century BC)
Π2	P. Oxy. 2379 (third century)
Π3	P. Oxy., forthcoming (third century)
Ω	The consensus of the medieval manuscripts
M	Leiden, University Library, cod. BPG 33H (fifteenth century)
M <sup>2</sup>	A scholarly corrector of M (sixteenth century)
Ψ	The lost archetype of <i>f</i> , <i>p</i> , and <i>x</i> (thirteenth century?)
<i>f</i> , <i>p</i> , <i>x</i>	Manuscript families (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries)
<i>a</i> , <i>b</i>	Subgroups of <i>x</i>
<i>y</i>	Marginal variants transmitted in the <i>x</i> group

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# HYMNS

## 1. ΕΙΣ ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΝ

A (Pap. Genav. 432; lines 2–10 Diod. 3.66.3; lines 9–10 also Diod. 1.15.7, 4.2.4, schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.1211)

]παπαθ[

οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνωι σ', οἱ δ' Ἰκάρωι ἠνεμοέσση  
φᾶσ', οἱ δ' ἐν Νάξωι, δῖον γένος Εἰραφιῶτα,  
οἱ δέ σ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῶι ποταμῶι βαθυδινηέντι

5 {κυσαμένην Σεμέλην τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνωι},  
ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβησιν ἄναξ σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι,  
ψευδόμενοι· σὲ δ' ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε  
πολλὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, κρύπτων λευκώλενον Ἥρην.  
ἔστι δέ τις Νύση ὕπατον ὄρος, ἀνθέον ὕλη,

10 τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτιοιο ῥοάων·  
ἔνθ' οὗ τις σὺν νηϊ] περ[αῖ] μερόπων ἀνθρώπων·  
οὐ γάρ οἱ ἔστι λι]μήν, νηῶν ὄχος ἀμφιελισσέων,  
ἀλλὰ οἱ ἡλίβα]τος πέτρῃ περιδέδρομε πάντῃ  
ὑψηλῇ, τά τε κα]λὰ φύει μενοεικέα πολλά

15 ]. κατέχει βαθυτ[....]πλο[  
]. τετανυ....[  
]...τεκα[

## HYMNS

### 1. TO DIONYSUS

(A) . . . For some say it was at Drakanos, some on windy Ikaros, some on Naxos, O scion of Zeus, Bull god, and some at Alpheios the deep-swirling river {that Semele conceived and bore you to Zeus whose sport is the thunderbolt}, while others, Lord, say that it was at Thebes you were born. All false! The father of gods and men gave you birth far from humankind, to conceal you from white-armed Hera. There is a place Nysa, a mountain most high, burgeoning with forest, in a distant part of Phoenicia, almost at the waters of the Nile. No one crosses there by ship, for it has no harbor where curly-tipped ships can ride: a steep cliff encloses it all round to a great height. But it grows lovely and delicious things in abundance . . . occu-

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A 2 σ' om. pap.

5 om. pap. et Diod. codd. pars

6 post 3 pap.

9 ὄρος pap., Diod.: κέρας schol.

11-14 ex Orph. Arg. 1199-1202 restituti

13 περιδέδρομε West: -δεδραμε pap.



20

ἀ]πὸ φλοίσ[β  
 ]κτον ἀποβλ[  
 ]..την πε.[  
 ]πολων ν..  
 ]ι παλάμηι δα[  
 ]ων ἔρατοι νομο[ί  
 ]. ὑπὸ δρυ.διο[

**B** (Crates ap. Ath. 653b, ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις)  
 αὐτῇσι σταφυλῇσι μελαίνησιν κομόωντες

**C** (Pap. Oxy. 670)

ἐθέ]λεις· τί δ' ἂν ἄλλο π[ά]θου  
 ἀασάμη]ν δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ἀπ[  
 ].[.] αὐτόματος λίπεν[  
 ]ως [εἰ]κάζουσιν αἰγε[

- 5 ἔμβα]λε Ταρταρίησιν ἀλυκτ[οπέδησι δολώσας.  
 τίς σ]ε, φίλη, λύσειεν; ἐπιζώ[στρον δ' ἀλεγεινή  
 πάν]τοθεν [ἀμ]φιβέβηκε τ[εὸν δέμας· αὐτὰρ ὃ γ'  
 ἄλλως  
 οὔτ' ἄ]ρ' ἐφη[μοσύ]νης μεμν[ημένος οὔτε λιτάων  
 βουλῇ]ν ἀστν[φέλι]κτον ἐὼι σ[υμφράσσατο θυμῶι.  
 10 ὦμό]ν, ἀδελ[φειή,] τέκες νί[έα·  
 τεχ]νῆεις [καὶ] χωλὸς ἐὼν.[  
 ]ς πρό[σθε π]οδῶν ἀγαθ[  
 ]μενω[...].τεεις κοτε.[  
 ]ν μη[....]ων σε τεὸς.[

## 1. TO DIONYSUS

piet by a deep . . . extended . . . away from the surge . . . by  
skill . . . lovely pas[tures . . .

(B) (Vine rows) luxuriant with their own dark grape  
clusters . . .

(C) (*Zeus speaks to Hera*) “. . . you wish. What else  
could happen to [you worse than this? I was stupi]d myself,  
from [ . . . ] left of his own accord [ . . . ] as they [sur]mise  
ever [ . . . he tricked you and pu]t you in hellish fett[ers.  
Who] could set y[ou] free, my dear? [A painful b]elt encir-  
cles y[our body, while he], heed[ing neither co]mmand  
[nor entreaty, has formed] an unshakeable r[esolve in his  
heart. It's a cruel] son you have borne, sis[ter . . . craf]ty,  
even though a cripple [ . . . ] in front [of . . . ] feet good [ . . . ]

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C suppl. Grenfell-Hunt (5 ἀλυκτ[οπέδησι, 7 πάν]τοθεν  
[ἀμ]φιβέβηκε, 9 ἀστν[φέλι]κτον, 11-12), Ganszyniec (8 ἐφη-  
[μοσύ]νης μεμν[ημένος, 21 ἰδέε[ιν]), J. U. Powell (6 ἐπιζώ-  
[στρα δ' ἀλεγεινή, 19 πινυτόφ[ρονες), West

- 15       ]ο καὶ [...]έουσα φιλο[  
           ]σι χωομε[ν..]. καὶ μ.[  
 θυμὸν] ἄρ' εἰσώμεσθα σιδήρ[εον εἴ τι μαλάξει.  
 δοιοὶ] γὰρ παρέασι τεοῖς [καμάτοισιν ἄρωγοί  
 υῖες] ἡμέτεροι πινυτόφ[ρονες· ἔστι μὲν Ἄρης,  
 20   ὃς θοὸν] ἔγχος ἀνέσχε τα[λαύρινος πολεμιστῆς  
           ]ην ἰδέε[ιν] καὶ παλ[  
 ἔστι δὲ] καὶ Διόνυσος, ε.[  
 αὐτὰρ] ἐμοὶ μὴ δῆριν ἐγεί[ρέτω· ἦ τε κερανοῖς  
 εἴσι]ν ὑφ' ἡμετέροις πε[πληγμένος οὐ κατὰ κόσμον.  
 25       ]ασθε γλυκερῶν ἐπ[  
           ]εως πάϊς οὗτος ἐμο[

**D** (codex M)

“καὶ οἱ ἀναστήσουσιν ἀγάλματα πόλλ' ἐνὶ νηοῖς.  
 ὥς δὲ †τὰ μὲν τριάσοι πάντως† τριετηρίσιν αἰεὶ  
 ἄνθρωποι ρέξουσιν τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας.”

- ἦ, καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων·  
 5   ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος  
 κρατὸς ἅπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον.  
 {ὥς εἰπὼν ἐπένευσε καρήατι μητίετα Ζεύς.}

- ἴληθ', Εἰραφιῶτα γυναιμανές· οἱ δέ σ' αἰδοί  
 αἰδομεν ἀρχόμενοι λήγοντές τ'· οὐδέ πηι ἔστιν  
 10   σεῖ' ἐπιληθόμενον ἱερῆς μεμνήσθαι αἰοιδῆς.  
 {καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διώνυσ' εἰραφιῶτα,  
 σὺν μητρὶ Σεμέλῃ, ἣν περ καλέουσι Θυῶνην.}

## 1. TO DIONYSUS

wrathful [ . . . ] . . . angry [ . . . ] Let us find out [if he will soften his hear]t of iron. For there are [two] clever [sons] of mine at hand [to help with] your [suffering. There is Ares, who] has raised his [keen] spear, a th[ick-hide fighter . . . ] to look and bra[ndish . . . ; and there is] also Dionysus [ . . . But let him] not stir up a quarrel with me, [otherwise he will be on his way belab]ored by my [thunderbolts in no tidy style . . . ] of sweet [ . . . ] this lad [ . . . ”

(D) “. . . And they will set up many effigies in his shrines; and as there are three . . . , so at triennial festivals people will ever sacrifice perfect hecatombs.”

So spoke the son of Kronos, and confirmed it with a nod of his sable brows; and the lord's ambrosial locks danced up from his immortal head, and he sent a tremor through great Olympus.

Be propitious, Bull god, women-frenzier! We singers sing of you as we begin and as we end; there is no way to take heed for holy singing while heedless of you.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text in M incorporates two alternative endings to the hymn; the first looks the more authentic. The second reads: “So saying, wise Zeus confirmed it with a nod of his head. So I salute you, Dionysus, Bull god, together with your mother Semele, whom they call Thyone.”

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D 2 *τάμεν* Allen-Sikes      *τρία, σοὶ* Ruhnkenius

4-6 (= *Il.* 1.528-530) damn. Ilgen, 7 Càssola

7 *ἔπενενσε* Ruhnkenius; *ἐκέλευσε* M

8-10 damn. Hermann, 11-12 West

## 2. ΕΙΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΝ

- Δήμητρ' ἡΰκομον σεμνήν θεὸν ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν,  
 αὐτὴν ἡδὲ θύγατρα τανίσφυρον, ἣν Ἀἰδωνεύς  
 ἤρπαξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς,  
 νόσφιν Δήμητρος χρυσαόρου ἀγλαοκάρπου
- 5 παίζουσιν κούρησι σὺν Ὀκεανοῦ βαθυκόλποις  
 ἄνθεά τ' αἰνυμένην ῥόδα καὶ κρόκον ἡδ' ἴα καλὰ  
 λειμῶν' ἅμ' μαλακὸν καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἡδ' ὑάκινθον  
 νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν φῦσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρηι  
 Γαῖα Διὸς βουλῇσι, χαριζομένη Πολυδέκτῃ,
- 10 θαυμαστὸν γανόωντα, σέβας τό γε πᾶσιν ιδέσθαι  
 ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἡδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.  
 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ρίζης ἑκατὸν κάρα ἐξεπεφύκει  
 κηώδης τ' ὁδμή· πᾶς δ' οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεῖν  
 γαῖά τε πᾶς' ἐγέλασσε καὶ ἄλμυρὸν οἶδμα  
 θαλάσσης.
- 15 ἡ δ' ἄρα θαμβήσας ὠρέξατο χερσὶν ἅμ' ἅμφω  
 καλὸν ἄθρυμα λαβεῖν· χάνε δὲ χθὼν εὐρνώγνια  
 Νύσιον ἅμ' πεδίον, τῇι ὄρουσεν ἄναξ Πολυδέγμων  
 ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι, Κρόνου πολυνύμμος υἱός.  
 ἀρπάξας δ' ἀέκουσαν ἐπὶ χρυσέοισιν ὄχοισιν
- 20 ἧγ' ὀλοφυρομένην· ἰάχῃσε δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ  
 κεκλομένη πατέρα Κρονίδην ὑπατον καὶ ἄριστον.  
 οὐδέ τις ἀθανάτων οὐδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων

1 θεὸν Voss: θεὰν M

2 τανίσφυρον Richardson: τανύ- M

## 2. TO DEMETER

## 2. TO DEMETER

Of Demeter the lovely-haired, the august goddess first I sing, of her and her slender-ankled daughter, whom Aïdoneus<sup>2</sup> seized by favor of heavy-booming, wide-sounding Zeus as she frolicked, away from Demeter of the golden sword and resplendent fruit, with the deep-bosomed daughters of Ocean, picking flowers across the soft meadow, roses and saffron and lovely violets, iris and hyacinth, and narcissus, that Earth put forth as a snare for the maiden with eyes like buds by the will of Zeus, as a favor to the Hospitable One.<sup>3</sup> It shone wondrously, an awe-inspiring thing to see both for the immortal gods and for mortal men. From its root a hundred heads grew out, and a perfumed odor; the whole broad sky above and the whole earth smiled, and the salty swell of the sea.

In amazement she reached out with both hands to take the pretty plaything. But the broad-wayed earth gaped open on the plain of Nysa,<sup>4</sup> and there the Hospitable Lord rushed forth with his immortal steeds, Kronos' son whose names are many. Seizing her by force, he began to drive her off on his golden chariot, with her wailing and screaming as she called on her father Zeus, the highest and noblest. But no one heard her voice, none of the immortals

<sup>2</sup> Hades.      <sup>3</sup> A name for Hades, who takes everyone into his house. He is also called the Major General, because he has so many under his command.

<sup>4</sup> This mythical locality, variously located, is normally associated with Dionysus, as in Hymn 1 fr. A 9.

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10 τό γε Goodwin: τότε III M

13 κῳδῆς τ' Ludwig: κῳδιστ' M

- ἤκουσεν φωνῆς, οὐδ' ἀγλαόκαρποι ἐλαῖαι,  
 εἰ μὴ Περσαίου θυγάτηρ ἀταλὰ φρονέουσα  
 25 αἶεν ἐξ ἄντρον, Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος,  
 Ἡελίος τε ἄναξ Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,  
 κούρης κεκλομένης πατέρα Κρονίδην· ὃ δὲ νόσφιν  
 ἦστο θεῶν ἀπάνευθε πολυλλίστῳ ἐνὶ νηῶι  
 δέγμενος ἱερὰ καλὰ παρὰ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
 30 τὴν δ' ἀεκαζομένην ἦγεν Διὸς ἐννεσίησι  
 πατροκασίγνητος πολυσημάντωρ Πολυδέγμων  
 ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι, Κρόνου πολύνυμος υἱός.  
 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν γαῖαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα  
 λεῦσσε θεὰ καὶ πόντον ἀγάρροον ἰχθυόεντα  
 35 αὐγὰς τ' ἡελίου, ἔτι δ' ἥλπετο μητέρα κεδνὴν  
 ὄψεσθαι καὶ φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετῶν,  
 τόφρα οἱ ἐλπίς ἔθελγε μέγαν νόον ἀχρυμένης περ.  
 ἤχησαν δ' ὀρέων κορυφαὶ καὶ βένθεα πόντου  
 φωνῇ ὕπ' ἀθανάτην τῆς δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ,  
 40 ὅξ' ὃν μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίταις  
 ἀμβροσίαις κρήδεμνα δαΐζετο χερσὶ φίλησιν.  
 κυάνεον δὲ κάλυμμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων βάλετ' ὦμων,  
 σέυατο δ' ὥς τ' οἰωνὸς ἐπὶ τραφερήν τε καὶ ὑγρὴν  
 μαιομένη. τῇ δ' οὐ τις ἐτήτυμα μυθήσασθαι  
 45 ἤθελεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 οὔτ' οἰωνῶν τις τῇ ἐτήτυμος ἄγγελος ἦλθεν.  
 ἐννήμαρ μὲν ἔπειτα κατὰ χθόνα πότνια Δῆώ  
 στρωφᾶτ', αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα·

## 2. TO DEMETER

or of mortal men, nor yet the olive trees with their resplendent fruit—except that Perses' daughter still innocent of heart, Hecate of the glossy veil, heard from her cave, and so did the lord Helios, Hyperion's resplendent son, as the maiden called on her father Zeus: he, however, was seated apart, away from the gods, in his prayerful temple, receiving fine offerings from mortals.

So, despite her resistance, her father's brother was carrying her off by Zeus' design, the Major General, the Hospitable One, Kronos' son whose names are many, with his immortal steeds. Now so long as the goddess could still see the earth and the starry sky and the strong-flowing fishy sea and the light of the sun, and yet expected to see her good mother again and the families of gods who are for ever, so long her great mind had the comfort of hope, despite her distress. The mountain peaks and the sea deeps rang with the sound of her divine voice; and her lady mother heard it, and a sharp pain seized her heart, and the veil over her ambrosial locks tore apart under her hands. Throwing a dark covering over her shoulders, she sped like a bird over land and water in her search. But there was no one prepared to tell her the truth, either of gods or mortals, nor did any of the birds come to her with reliable news.

For nine days then did the lady Deo<sup>5</sup> roam the earth with burning torches in her hands, and in her grief she did

<sup>5</sup> A name of Demeter.

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28 πολυλλίστωι Ruhnkenius: πολυκλίστω M  
35 δ' om. II1



- οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἡδυπότοιο  
 50 πάσσαι' ἀκηχεμένη, οὐδὲ χρóa βάλλετο λουτροῖς.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ οἱ ἐπήλυθε φαινόλις ἡώς,  
 ἦντετό οἱ Ἑκάτῃ, σέλας ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχουσα,  
 καὶ ῥά οἱ ἀγγελέουσα ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε·  
 “πότνια Δημήτηρ ὠρηφόρε ἀγλαόδωρε,  
 55 τίς θεῶν οὐρανίων ἡ ἐθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἥρπασε Περσεφόνην καὶ σὸν φίλον ἥκαχε θυμόν;  
 φωνῆς γὰρ ἤκουσ', ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν  
 ὅς τις ἔην· σοὶ δ' ὦκα λέγω νημερτέα πάντα.”  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη Ἑκάτῃ· τὴν δ' οὐκ ἡμείβετο μύθῳ  
 60 ‘Ρείης ἡϋκόμου θυγάτηρ, ἀλλ' ὦκα σὺν αὐτῇ  
 ἡῖξ' αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα.  
 Ἥελιον δ' ἴκοντο θεῶν σκοπὸν ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,  
 στὰν δ' ἵππων προπάροιθε καὶ εἶρετο διὰ θεάων·  
 “Ἥέλι', αἶδεσσαί με †θέας ὕπερ, εἴ ποτε δὴ σεο  
 65 ἦ ἔπει ἦ ἔργῳ κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἵηνα.  
 κούρην τὴν ἔτεκον, γλυκερὸν θάλος, εἶδεῖ κυδρὴν,  
 τῆς ἀδινὴν ὅπ' ἄκουσα δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο  
 ὥς τε βιαζομένης, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ γὰρ δὴ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον  
 70 αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης καταδέρκεαι ἀκτίνεσσιν,  
 νημερτέως μοι ἔνισπε φίλον τέκος εἴ που ὅπωπας  
 ὅς τις νόσφιν ἐμεῖο λαβὼν ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκῃ  
 οἴχεται ἡ ἐθεῶν ἢ καὶ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.”  
 ὥς φάτο, τὴν δ' Ὑπεριονίδης ἡμείβετο μύθῳ·  
 75 “Ρείης ἡϋκόμου θύγατερ, Δήμητερ ἄνασσα,  
 εἰδήσεις· δὴ γὰρ μέγα <σ> ἄζομαι ἡδ' ἐλεαίρω

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not once taste ambrosia and the nectar sweet to drink, nor did she splash her body with washing water. But when the tenth bright dawn came upon her, Hecate met her with a light in her hand, and spoke to give her news:

“Lady Demeter, bringer of resplendent gifts in season, who of the heavenly gods or of mortal men has seized Persephone and grieved your dear heart? I heard her voice, but I did not see who it was. I am telling you promptly the whole truth of it.”

So spoke Hecate; but lovely-haired Rhea’s daughter said nothing in answer, but quickly ran with her, with burning torches in her hands. They came to Helios, the watcher of gods and men, and stood in front of his chariot, and the goddess asked:

“Helios, have regard for me, if ever I have gladdened your heart either by word or deed. The maiden I bore, my sweet sprig, with looks to be proud of—I heard her voice loud through the fathomless air as if she was being taken by force, but I did not see it. You, however, look down from the sky with your rays over the whole earth and sea: so tell me truly if perchance you have seen who it is, of gods or mortals, that has taken her away from me by force against her will and gone off with her.”

So she spoke, and Hyperion’s son answered, “Daughter of lovely-haired Rhea, lady Demeter, you shall know, for I greatly revere you, and I pity you in your sorrow over your

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49 ἡδυπότοιω Ruhnkenius: ἡδε πότοιω M

51 φαινόλις Ruhnkenius: φαινόλη M

70–1 καταδέρεται . . . ὅπωπεν M: corr. Ruhnkenius

75 θύγατερ Wolf: θυγάτηρ M

76 σ' add. quidam ap. Ruhnkenium

- ἀχινυμένην περὶ παιδὶ τανισφύρωι. οὐδέ τις ἄλλος  
 αἴτιος ἀθανάτων εἰ μὴ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς,  
 ὅς μιν ἔδωκ' Ἀΐδῃ θαλερὴν κεκληῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν  
 80 αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ· ὃ δ' ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡρόεντα  
 ἀρπάξας ἵπποισιν ἄγειν μεγάλα ἰάχουσαν.  
 ἀλλὰ, θεά, κατάπαυε μέγαν γόον· οὐδέ τί σε χρή  
 μὰψ αὐτῷς ἀπλητον ἔχειν χόλον. οὐ τοι ἀεικὴς  
 γαμβρὸς ἐν ἀθανάτοισι πολυσημάντῳ Ἀἰδωνεύς,  
 85 αὐτοκασίγνητος καὶ ὁμόσπορος· ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμὴν,  
 ἔλλαχεν ὥς τὰ πρῶτα διάτρυχα δασμὸς ἐτύχθη·  
 τοῖς μεταναιετάει, τῶν ἔλλαχε κοίρανος εἶναι.”  
 ὥς εἰπὼν ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο, τοὶ δ' ὑπ' ὁμοκλῆς  
 ῥίμφα φέρον θοὸν ἄρμα τανύπτεροι ὥς τ' οἰωνοί·  
 90 τὴν δ' ἄχος αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον ἵκετο θυμόν.  
 χωσαμένη δῆπείτα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίῳ  
 νοσφισθείσα θεῶν ἀγορὴν καὶ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον  
 ὦιχετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων πόλιας καὶ πίονα ἔργα,  
 εἶδος ἀμαλδύνουσα πολὺν χρόνον· οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν  
 95 εἰσορόων γίνωσκε βαθυζώνων τε γυναικῶν,  
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ Κελεοῖο δαΐφρονος ἵκετο δῶμα,  
 ὃς τότε Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης κοίρανος ἦεν.  
 ἔζετο δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο φίλον τετιημένην ἦτορ  
 Παρθενίῳ φρέατι, ὅθεν ὕδρεύοντο πολῖται,  
 100 ἐν σκιῇ, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε πεφύκει θάμνος ἐλαίης,

77 τανισφύρω M

87 μεταναιετάει Voss, -άειν Valckenaer: μετάναιέται M

98 τετιημένος M: corr. Ruhnkenius

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slender-ankled child. No other of the immortals is to blame but the cloud-gatherer Zeus, who has given her to Hades, his own brother, to be known as his buxom wife. He seized her, and was taking her on his chariot down to the misty darkness, while she screamed loudly. So goddess, end your loud lamenting; there is no call for you to rage for ever like this to no purpose. Aïdoneus, the Major General, is not an unsuitable son-in-law to have among the gods, your own brother, of the same seed. As for privileges, he has the portion he was allotted originally in the threefold division;<sup>6</sup> he dwells among those whose ruler he was allotted to be."

With these words he urged on his horses, and they at his command quickly bore on the swift chariot, like spread-winged birds, while a harsher and crueller grief struck her to the heart.

Then in her anger at the dark-cloud son of Kronos she turned away from the gods' assembly and long Olympus, and for a long time she travelled to the communities of men and their rich farmlands, effacing her beauty, and no man or deep-girt woman looking upon her knew who she was, until the time when she came to the house of wise Keleos, who was then the ruler of fragrant Eleusis. She had sat down at the roadside, sick at heart, at the Maiden's Well, from where the people of the community used to draw water; she was in the shade, with a bushy olive grow-

<sup>6</sup> The universe was divided by lot among the three sons of Kronos; Zeus got the sky, Poseidon the sea, and Hades the underworld (*Iliad* 15.187-192).

γρηῖ παλαιγενεῖι ἐναλίγκιος, ἥ τε τόκοιο  
εἵργηται δώρων τε φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης,  
οἳαί τε τροφοί εἰσι θεμιστοπόλων βασιλῆων  
παίδων καὶ ταμίαι κατὰ δώματα ἡχέοντα.

- 105 τὴν δὲ ἴδον Κελεοῖο Ἐλευσινίδαο θύγατρὸς  
ἐρχόμεναι μεθ' ὕδωρ εὐήρυτον, ὅφρα φέροιεν  
κάλπισι χαλκείησι φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρός,  
τέσσαρες, ὥς τε θεαὶ κουρήϊον ἄνθος ἔχουσαι,  
Καλλιδίκη καὶ Κλεισιδίκη Δημῷ τ' ἐρόεσσα  
110 Καλλιθόη θ', ἥ τῶν προγενεστάτη ἦεν ἀπασῶν·  
οὐδ' ἔγνον· χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ὀράσθαι.  
ἀγχοῦ <δ'> ἰστάμεναι ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδων·

- “τίς πόθεν ἐσσί, γρηῖ, παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων;  
τίπτε δὲ νόσφι πόλῃος ἀπέστιχες, οὐδὲ δόμοισιν  
115 πύλνασαι; ἔνθα γυναῖκες ἀνὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα  
τηλίκαι ὥς σύ περ ὦδε καὶ ὀπλότεραι γεγάασιν,  
αἷ κέ σε φίλονται ἡμὲν ἔπει ἡδὲ καὶ ἔργωι.”

- ὥς ἔφαθ', ἥ δ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀμείβετο πότνα θεάων·  
“τέκνα φίλ', αἷ τινὲς ἐστε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων,  
120 χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν μυθήσομαι· οὐ τοι ἀεικές  
ὑμῖν εἰρομένησιν ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι.

Δὼς <μὲν> ἐμοί γ' ὄνομ' ἐστί· τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια  
μήτηρ·

- νῦν αὖτε Κρήτηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης  
ἤλυθον οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, βίηι δ' ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκη  
125 ἄνδρες ληϊστῆρες ἀπήγαγον. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα  
νηῖ θοῇ Θορικόνδε κατέσχεθον, ἔνθα γυναῖκες  
ἡπείρου ἐπέβησαν ἀολλέες ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοί

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ing overhead, and she looked like an ancient crone, debarred from motherhood and the blessings of garland-loving Aphrodite: a woman like those that are nurses to the children of lawgiver kings, or housekeepers in their bustling mansions.

The daughters of Keleos the Eleusinid caught sight of her as they came to draw water and carry it in bronze pails to their father's dear house—four of them, like goddesses in the flower of their girlhood, Callidice, Clisidice, lovely Demo, and Callithoe, the eldest of them all. They did not recognize her, for gods are hard for mortals to see, but stood close to her and spoke winged words:

“Who are you, old woman, of those born long ago? Where are you from? And why have you walked so far from the town, instead of going to the houses, where there are women of your age and others younger in the shady halls, who might greet you and treat you kindly?”

So she spoke, and the lady goddess answered: “My dears, good day to you, whoever of womankind you are. I will tell you; it is not improper, since you ask, to tell you the truth. Bounty is my name that my lady mother gave me. But now I have come from Crete over the sea's broad back, not from choice, but by force, against my will, some freebooters took me away. They put in at Thorikos in their swift ship; the women all disembarked, and they themselves set

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111 ἔγνων Cobet: ἔγνω M

115 πίλνασαι Voss: πιλνᾶς M

119 φίλα· τίνες M: corr. Fontein

121 εἰρομένοισιν M: corr. Ruhnkenius

122 μὲν add. Brunck

112 δ' add. Ruhnkenius

118 ἔφην Voss

120 τοι Fontein: τι M

- δείπνον ἐπηρτύνοντο παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός·  
 ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐ δόρποιο μελίφρονος ἦρατο θυμός,  
 130 λάθρηι δ' ὀρμηθεῖσα δι' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης  
 φεύγον ὑπερφιάλους σημάντορας, ὄφρα κε μή με  
 ἀπριάτην περάσαντες ἐμῆς ἀποναίαιο τιμῆς.  
 οὐτῶ δεῦρ' ἰκόμην ἀλαλημένη, οὐδέ τι οἶδα  
 ἢ τις δὴ γαῖ' ἐστὶ καὶ οἳ τινες ἐγγεγάασιν.  
 135 ἀλλ' ὑμῖν μὲν πάντες Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες  
 δοῖεν κουριδίους ἄνδρας καὶ τέκνα τεκέσθαι,  
 ὥς ἐθέλουσι τοκῆες· ἔμ' αὖτ' οἰκτίρατε, κοῦραι,  
 . . . . .  
 προφρονέως, φίλα τέκνα, τέων πρὸς δώμαθ' ἵκωμαι  
 ἀνέρος ἠδὲ γυναικός, ἵνα σφισιν ἐργάζωμαι  
 140 πρόφρων, οἷα γυναικὸς ἀφήλικος ἔργα τέτυκται.  
 καὶ κεν παῖδα νεογνὸν ἐν ἀγκοίνηισιν ἔχουσα  
 καλὰ τιθηνοίμην, καὶ δώματα τηρήσαιμι,  
 καὶ κε λέχος στορέσαιμι μυχῶι θαλάμων εὐπήκτων  
 δεσπόσυνον, καὶ κ' ἔργα διδασκῆσαιμι γυναικάς.”  
 145 φῆ ῥα θεά· τὴν δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο παρθένος ἀδμῆς  
 Καλλιδίκη, Κελεοῖο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη·  
 “μαῖα, θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκη  
 τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι· δὴ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν.  
 ταῦτα δέ τοι σαφέως ὑποθήσομαι ἠδ' ὀνομήνῳ  
 150 ἀνέρας, οἷσιν ἔπεστι μέγα κράτος ἐνθάδε τιμῆς  
 δῆμον τε προύχουσιν ἰδὲ κρήδεμνα πόληος  
 εἰρύναται βουλῇισι καὶ ἰθείηισι δίκηισιν.  
 ἡμὲν Τριπτολέμου πυκιμήδεος ἠδὲ Διόκλου  
 ἠδὲ Πολυξείνου καὶ ἀμύμονος Εὐμόλποιο



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about preparing their supper by the ship's stern cables. But I had no appetite for dinner's delights: I slipped away over the dark land and fled from those imperious ruffians to stop them selling me unbought and profiting from my sale value. That is how I have come wandering here. I don't know what country it is or who are its people. So, may all the Olympians grant you husbands and childbearing as your parents wish, only take pity on me, girls < . . . And tell me > kindly, my dears, whose house I am to go to, what man's and wife's, so that I can do for them with a will such work as suits a woman past her prime. I could hold a baby in my arms and nurse him well, I could look after the house, and make the master's bed in the sturdy chamber's recess, and teach the women their tasks."

So said the goddess; and straightway the virgin Callidice, fairest of Keleos' daughters, replied: "Nanna, what the gods give, we humans endure, painful as it is, for they are far our superiors. But I will give you this sure advice and tell you the names of the men who control privilege here, who stand out from the people and protect the city's ramparts by their counsel and straight judgments. Wise Triptolemus and Diocles, Polyxenus and worthy

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134 ἐγγεγάασιν Ruhnkenius: ἐκγεγάασιν M

137 ἔμ' Fontein: ἐμὲ δ' M      lacunam stat. Allen

144 διδασκῆσαιμι γυναῖκας Voss: διαθήσαιμι γυναικὸς M



- 155 καὶ Δολίχου καὶ πατρὸς ἀγήνορος ἡμετέροιο,  
τῶν πάντων ἄλοχοι κατὰ δώματα πορσαίνουσιν·  
τάων οὐκ ἂν τίς σε κατὰ πρῶτιστον ὀπωπὴν  
εἶδος ἀτιμήσασα δόμων ἀπονοσφίσσειεν,  
ἀλλὰ σε δέξονται· δὴ γὰρ θεοείκελός ἐσσι.
- 160 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἐπίμεινον, ἵνα πρὸς δώματα πατρός  
ἔλθωμεν καὶ μητρὶ βαθυζώνωι Μετανείρῃ  
εἵπωμεν τάδε πάντα διαμπερές, αἶ κέ σ' ἀνώγηι  
ἡμέτερόνδ' ἰέναι, μηδ' ἄλλων δώματ' ἐρευνᾶν.  
τηλύγετος δέ οἱ υἱὸς ἐνὶ μεγάρωι εὐπήκτωι
- 165 ὀψίγονος τρέφεται, πολυνεύχετος ἀσπασίός τε.  
εἰ τὸν γ' ἐκθρέψαιο καὶ ἥβης μέτρον ἵκοιτο,  
ἦ ῥά κέ τίς σε ἰδοῦσα γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων  
ζηλώσαι· τόσα κέν τοι ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοίη.”  
ὥς ἔφαθ'· ἦ δ' ἐπένευσε καρήατι, ταὶ δὲ φαεινά
- 170 πλησάμεναι ὕδατος φέρον ἄγγεα κυδιάουσαι.  
ρίμφα δὲ πατρὸς ἵκοντο μέγαν δόμον, ὦκα δὲ μητρί  
ἔννεπον ὥς εἰδόν τε καὶ ἔκλνον· ἦ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα  
ἐλθούσας ἐκέλευε καλεῖν ἐπ' ἀπείρονι μισθῶι.  
αἱ δ' ὥς τ' ἦ' ἔλαφοι ἦ πόρτιες εἶαρος ὥρηι
- 175 ἄλλοντ' ἂν λειμῶνα κορεσσάμεναι φρένα φορβῆς,  
ὥς αἱ ἐπισχόμεναι ἐανῶν πτύχας ἡμεροέντων  
ἦἴξαν κοίλῃν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται  
ὤμοις ἀΐσσουντο κροκηῖωι ἄνθει ὁμοῖαι.  
τέτμον δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῦ κυδρὴν θεόν, ἔνθα πάρος περ
- 180 κάλλιπον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρός

167 ἦ ῥα Matthiae (cf. 222): ῥεῖά M

## 2. TO DEMETER

Eumolpus, Dolichus and our own noble father all have wives managing in the house, not one of whom would scorn your appearance on sight and send you away; no, they will take you in, for really, there is something almost divine about you. Or if you like, wait here while we go home and tell our mother, deep-girt Metaneira, this whole story, and see if she will say you should come to our house and not go searching out other people's. She has a darling late-born son being nursed in the sturdy mansion, the happy answer to many prayers: if you were to raise him and see him to young manhood's measure, then any woman who saw you might well envy you, so richly would she<sup>7</sup> repay you for his nurturing."

So she spoke; and Demeter nodded her agreement. So they filled their gleaming pails with water and carried them away with heads held high. They soon reached their father's mansion, and quickly told their mother what they had seen and heard. She told them to go quickly and invite the woman to come, at an unstinting wage. They then, like deer or heifers in springtime who frisk over the meadow after feeding their fill, drew up the folds of their lovely dresses and ran along the rutted carriageway, their saffron-yellow hair flying about their shoulders. They found the glorious goddess by the roadside where they had left her, and then they led the way to their father's dear house,

<sup>7</sup> Or perhaps "he," the child when grown up.

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174 τ' ἦ Brunck: τοι M

175 φορβῆς Voss: φορβῇ M

179 θεόν Hermann: θεάν M

ἡγέονθ', ἥ δ' ἄρ' ὅπισθε φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ  
στεῖχε, κατὰ κρῆθεν κεκαλυμμένη, ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος  
κύνεος ῥαδινοῖσι θεῆς ἐλελίζετο ποσσίν.

αἶψα δὲ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο διοτρεφέος Κελεοῖο,  
185 βὰν δὲ δι' αἰθούσης, ἔνθα σφισι πότνια μήτηρ  
ἦστο παρὰ σταθμόν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο,  
παῖδ' ὑπὸ κόλπω ἔχουσα, νέον θάλος· αἱ δὲ παρ'  
αὐτήν  
ἔδραμον. ἥ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσί, καί ῥα  
μελάθρου

κύρε κάρη, πλήσεν δὲ θύρας σέλαος θείοιο.  
190 τὴν δ' αἰδώς τε σέβας τε ἰδὲ χλωρὸν δέος εἶλεν·  
εἶξε δέ οἱ κλισμοῖο καὶ ἐδριάασθαι ἄνωγεν.  
ἀλλ' οὐ Δημήτηρ ὠρηφόρος ἀγλαόδωρος  
ἤθελεν ἐδριάασθαι ἐπὶ κλισμοῖο φαεινοῦ,  
ἀλλ' ἀκούσα ἔμιμνε κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα,  
195 πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ οἱ ἔθηκεν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα  
πηκτὸν ἔδος, καθύπερθε δ' ἐπ' ἀργύφειον βάλε  
κῶας>.

ἔνθα καθεζομένη προκατέσχετο χερσὶ καλύπτρην·  
δηρὸν δ' ἄφθογγος τετιημένη ἦστ' ἐπὶ δίφρου,  
οὐδέ τιν' οὔτ' ἐπεῖ προσπτύσσετο οὔτε τι ἔργωι,  
200 ἀλλ' ἀγέλαστος ἄπαστος ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτήτος  
ἦστο, πόθωι μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρός,  
πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ χλεύηις μιν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα  
πολλὰ παρασκώπτουσ' ἐτρέψατο πότνιαν ἀγνήν  
μειδῆσαι γελάσαι τε καὶ ἵλαον σχεῖν θυμόν·  
205 ἥ δὴ οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα μεθύστερον εὔαδεν ὀργαῖς.

## 2. TO DEMETER

and she walked behind with sorrowing heart, a veil over her head, while the dark robe fluttered about the goddess's slender calves.

Soon they came to the house of Keleos, nursling of Zeus, and passed through the portico to where their lady mother sat by a pillar of the strong-built roof with her young sprig of a child in her bosom, and they ran to join her. Then Demeter stepped onto the threshold: her head reached to the rafter, and she filled the doorway with divine radiance. The queen was seized by awe and reverence and sallow fear; she gave up her couch for her, and invited her to sit down. But Demeter, bringer of resplendent gifts in season, did not want to be seated on the gleaming couch, but stood in silence, her lovely eyes downcast, until dutiful Iambe set a jointed stool for her and laid a shining white fleece over it. There she sat, holding her veil before her face, and for a long time she remained there on the seat in silent sorrow. She greeted no one with word or movement, but sat there unsmiling, tasting neither food nor drink, pining for her deep-girt daughter, until at last dutiful Iambe with ribaldry and many a jest diverted the holy lady so that she smiled and laughed and became benevolent—Iambe who ever since has found favor with her moods.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Or perhaps "in her ceremonies." On the significance of the stool with the fleece and of Iambe's behavior see the Introduction.

τῇι δὲ δέπας Μετάνειρα δίδου μελιηδέος οἴνου  
πλήσας, ἣ δ' ἀνένευσ'· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν οἱ ἔφασκεν  
πίνειν οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, ἄνωγε δ' ἄρ' ἄλφι καὶ ὕδωρ  
δοῦναι μείξασαν πιέμεν γληχῶνι τερείνῃ.

- 210 ἣ δὲ κυκεῶ τεύξασα θεῇι πόρεν, ὥς ἐκέλευεν·  
δεξαμένη δ' ὀσίης ἔνεκεν πολυπότνια Δῆώ

τῇσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχεν ἐϋζωνος Μετάνειρα·  
“χαῖρε, γύναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ σε κακῶν ἅπ' ἔολπα τοκῶν  
ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθῶν· ἐπὶ τοι πρέπει ὄμμασιν  
αἰδώς

- 215 καὶ χάρις, ὥς εἴ πέρ τε θεμιστοπόλων βασιλῶν.  
ἀλλὰ θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκῃ  
τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι· ἐπὶ γὰρ ζυγὸν αὐχένι κεῖται.  
νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἵκεο δεῦρο, παρέσσεται ὅσσά τ' ἐμοί  
περ.

- παῖδα δέ μοι τρέφε τόνδε, τὸν ὀψίγονον καὶ ἄελπτον  
220 ὥπασαν ἀθάνατοι, πολυάρητος δέ μοί ἐστιν.  
εἰ τόν γ' ἐκθρέψαιο καὶ ἥβης μέτρον ἵκοιτο,  
ἦ ῥά κέ τις σε ἰδοῦσα γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων  
ζηλώσαι· τόσα κέν τοι ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοίην.”

- τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ·  
225 “καὶ σύ, γύναι, μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ἐσθλὰ  
πόροιν.

207 οἱ Matthiae: τοι M      208 ἄλφι Ruhnkenius: ἀμφὶ M  
post 211 lacunam stat. Bücheler  
217 ζυγὸν West: -ὸς M

## 2. TO DEMETER

Metaneira filled a cup with honey-sweet wine and offered it to her. But she declined, saying that it was not proper for her to drink red wine; she told her to mix barley and water with the graceful pennyroyal and give it to her to drink. So she made the *kykeon*<sup>9</sup> and gave it to the goddess, as she requested, and the lady Deo took it for custom's sake and . . .<sup>10</sup>

Then fair-girt Metaneira opened the conversation: "Greetings, lady, for I do not expect you come from low parents, but ones of standing; your eyes have a striking modesty and charm, as might come from lawgiver princes. But what the gods give, we humans endure, painful as it is, for our necks are under the yoke. However, now that you have come here, you shall have as much as I have myself. Just rear this boy for me, whom the immortals have granted me, late and beyond expectation, but in answer to many a prayer. If you were to raise him and see him to young manhood's measure, then any woman who saw you might well envy you, so richly would I repay you for his nurturing."

Fair-garlanded Demeter addressed her in turn: "Greetings to you too, lady, and may the gods give you

<sup>9</sup> *Kykeon*, literally 'stir-up,' was the name of the barley drink ritually consumed by the initiates at Eleusis. It had to be stirred before drinking so that the barley grains did not settle.

<sup>10</sup> One or more lines are missing at this point.

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220 πολυήρατος M: corr. Ruhnkenius

221 γ' ἐκθρέψαιο Hermann: γε θρέψαιο M

223 δοίη Matthiae

- παῖδα δέ τοι πρόφρων ὑποδέξομαι, ὥς με κελεύεις·  
 θρέψω, κοῦ μιν, ἔολπα, κακοφραδίησι τιθήνης  
 οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσίη δηλήσεται οὔθ' ὑποτάμνων·  
 οἶδα γὰρ ἀντίτομον μέγα φέρτερον ὑλοτόμοιο,  
 230 οἶδα δ' ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἐσθλὸν ἐρυσμόν.”  
 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσασα θυώδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ  
 χερσίν τ' ἀθανάτησι· γεγῆθαι δὲ φρένα μήτηρ.  
 ὥς ἣ μὲν Κελεοῖο δαΐφρονος ἀγλαὸν υἷόν  
 Δημοφόωνθ', ὃν ἔτικτεν ἐϋζωνος Μετάνειρα,  
 235 ἔτρεφεν ἐν μεγάροις· ὃ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονι ἴσος,  
 οὔτ' οὖν σῖτον ἔδων, οὐ θησάμενος <γάλα μητρός.  
 236a ἡματίη μὲν γὰρ καλλιστέφανος> Δημήτηρ  
 χρίεσκ' ἀμβροσίῃ ὥς εἰ θεοῦ ἐκγεγαῶτα,  
 ἥδ' ὃν καταπνείουσα καὶ ἐν κόλποισιν ἔχουσα,  
 νύκτας δὲ κρύπτεσκε πυρὸς μένει ἥύτε δαλόν  
 240 λάθρα φίλων γονέων. τοῖς δὲ μέγα θαῦμ' ἐτέτυκτο,  
 ὥς προθαλῆς τελέθεσκε, θεοῖσι δὲ ἅντα ἐώικει.  
 καὶ κέν μιν ποίησεν ἀγῆρων τ' ἀθάνατόν τε,  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἀφραδίησιν ἐϋζωνος Μετάνειρα  
 νύκτ' ἐπιτηρήσασα θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο  
 245 σκέψατο· κώκυσεν δὲ καὶ ἄμφω πλήξατο μηρῷ,  
 δείσασ' ὦι περὶ παιδί, καὶ ἀάσθη μέγα θυμῷ.  
 καὶ ῥ' ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “τέκνον Δημοφόων, ξείνη σε πυρὶ ἔνι πολλῶι  
 κρύπτει, ἐμοὶ δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ τίθησιν.”

228 ὑποτάμνων Ignarra: ὑποταμνὸν M

229 ὑποτόμοιο Kledt

## 2. TO DEMETER

blessings. As for your boy, I will gladly take him over, as you request. I will rear him, and I do not anticipate that any supernatural visitation or cutter of roots will harm him through any negligence by his nurse. For I know a powerful counter-cut to beat the herb-cutter, and I know a good inhibitor of baneful visitation.”

With these words she took him into her fragrant bosom and immortal arms, and his mother was delighted. So she proceeded to rear in the mansion wise Keleos’ resplendent son Demophon, whom fair-girt Metaneira had borne, and he grew like a divine being, though he ate no food and sucked no <mother’s milk. For by day fair-garlanded> Demeter would anoint him with ambrosia, as if he were the son of a god, breathing her sweet breath over him as she held him in her bosom, while each night she would hide him away in the burning fire, like a brand, without his dear parents’ knowledge. To them it was a great wonder how precociously he flourished; he was like the gods to behold.

Indeed she would have made him ageless and deathless, if in her folly fair-girt Metaneira had not waited for the nighttime and spied from her fragrant chamber: she shrieked and clapped her two thighs in alarm for her son, for she was greatly misled, and she addressed him with winged words of lament:

“Demophon my child, the visitor is hiding you away in the blazing fire, causing me groaning and grief.”

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232 ἀθανάτησι Ilgen: -οισι M

236 suppl. Hermann, 236a Voss

248 πυρη ενι πο]λλη Π1



- 250 ὥς φάτ' ὀδυρομένη· τῆς δ' αἶε δῖα θεάων,  
τῇ δὲ χολωσαμένη καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ  
παῖδα φίλον, τὸν ἄελπτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτικτεν,  
χείρεσσ' ἀθανάτησιν ἀπὸ ἔο θῆκε πέδονδε  
ἐξανελούσα πυρός, θυμῶι κοτέσασα μάλ' αἰνῶς.
- 255 καὶ ῥ' ἄμυδις προσέειπεν ἐϋζωνον Μετάνειραν·  
“νῆϊδες ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀφράδμονες οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖο  
αἴσαν ἐπερχομένου προγνώμεναι οὔτε κακοῖο·  
καὶ σὺ γὰρ ἀφραδίησι τεῆς νήκεστον ἀάσθης.  
ἴστω γὰρ θεῶν ὄρκος, ἀμείλικτον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ·
- 260 ἀθάνατόν κέν τοι καὶ ἀγήραον ἥματα πάντα  
παῖδα φίλον ποίησα καὶ ἄφθιτον ὅπασα τιμὴν·  
νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὥς κεν θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξαι.  
τιμὴ δ' ἄφθιτος αἰὲν ἐπέσσεται, οὔνεκα γούνων  
ἡμετέρων ἐπέβη καὶ ἐν ἀγκοίνησιν ἴαυσεν.
- 265 ὠρησιν δ' ἄρα τῶι γε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν  
παῖδες Ἐλευσινίων πόλεμον καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν  
αἰὲν ἐν ἀλλήλοισι συνάξουσ' ἥματα πάντα.  
εἴμι δὲ Δημήτηρ τιμάοχος, ἧ τε μέγιστον  
ἀθανάτοις θνητοῖσί τ' ὄνεαρ καὶ χάρμα τέτυκται.
- 270 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι νηὸν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶι  
τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος,  
Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν ἐπὶ προύχοντι κολωνῶι  
ὄργια δ' αὐτῇ ἐγὼν ὑποθήσομαι, ὥς ἂν ἔπειτα

256-7 αφρονε[ς] ανθ[ρω]ποι δυστλημονες [ουτε κακοιο  
αισαν επ]ερ[χομενου πρ]ογνωμενες ΠΙ προγνώμεναι Mat-  
thiae: -μενοι M

## 2. TO DEMETER

So she lamented; and the goddess heard her. Angry with her, fair-garlanded Demeter took her dear son, whom she had borne beyond expectation in the mansion, in her immortal arms and laid him down away from her on the ground, removing him out of the fire in her heart's great wrath, and at the same time she spoke to fair-girt Metaneira:

"Ignorant humans and witless to recognize a dispensation of coming good or ill! You are another one irremediably misled by your folly. For may the implacable Water of Shuddering<sup>11</sup> on which the gods swear their oaths be my witness, I would have made your dear son deathless and ageless for ever, and granted him unfading privilege; but now there is no way he can avoid death and mortality. Yet a privilege unfading shall always be his, because he came onto my lap and slept in my arms: in his honor, at the due season of the revolving years, the sons of the Eleusinians shall evermore make battle and affray among themselves.<sup>12</sup> For I am Demeter the honored one, who is the greatest boon and joy to immortals and mortals. Now, let the whole people build me a great temple with an altar below it, under the citadel's sheer wall, above Kallichoron, where the hill juts out. As to the rites, I myself will instruct

<sup>11</sup> "Shuddering" is the literal meaning of the Greek name Styx.

<sup>12</sup> This refers to a ritual mock battle, the *Balletys*.

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258 νήκεστον Voss: μήκιστον M

263 ἄφθιτος Ruhnkenius: -ον M

267 συνάξουσ' Ignarra: συνανξήσουσ' M

269 θνητοῖσί τ' Ruhnkenius: -οῖσιν M

εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐμὸν νόον ἰλάσκεισθε.”

- 275 ὥς εἰπούσα θεὰ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ἄμειψεν  
γῆρας ἀπωσαμένη, περί τ' ἀμφί τε κάλλος ἄητο·  
ὀδμῇ δ' ἱμερόεσσα θνηέντων ἀπὸ πέπλων  
σκίδνατο, τῇλε δὲ φέγγος ἀπὸ χροὸς ἀθανάτοιο  
λάμπε θεῆς, ξανθαὶ δὲ κόμαι κατενῆνοθεν ὤμους,  
280 αὐγῆς δ' ἐπλήσθη πυκινὸς δόμος ἀστεροπῆς ὥς.  
βῆ δὲ διέκ μεγάρων, τῆς δ' αὐτίκα γούνατ' ἔλυντο,  
δηρὸν δ' ἄφθογγος γένετο χρόνον, οὐδέ τι παιδὸς  
μνήσατο τηλυγέτοιο ἀπὸ δαπέδου ἀνελέσθαι.  
τοῦ δὲ κασίγνηται φωνὴν ἐσάκουσαν ἐλεινὴν,  
285 καδ δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' εὐστρώτων λεχέων θόρον· ἧ μὲν  
ἔπειτα

- παῖδ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἐλοῦσα ἐὼι ἐγκάτθετο κόλπῳ,  
ἧ δ' ἄρα πῦρ ἀνέκαι', ἧ δ' ἔσσυτο πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖσιν  
μητέρ' ἀναστήσουσα θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο.  
ἀγρόμεναι δέ μιν ἀμφὶς ἐλούεον ἀσπαίροντα  
290 ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι· τοῦ δ' οὐ μειλίσσετο θυμός·  
χειρότεραι γὰρ δὴ μιν ἔχον τροφοὶ ἡδὲ τιθῆναι.  
αἱ μὲν παννύχαι κυδρὴν θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο  
δείματι παλλόμεναι· ἅμα δ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφιν  
εὐρυβίῃ Κελεῶι νημερτέα μυθήσαντο,  
295 ὥς ἐπέτελλε θεὰ καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ.  
αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' εἰς ἀγορὴν καλέσας πολυπείρουνα λαόν  
ἦνωγ' ἡνῃκόμῳ Δημήτερι πῖονα νηόν  
ποιῆσαι καὶ βωμὸν ἐπὶ προύχοντι κολωνῶι.  
οἱ δὲ μάλ' αἰψ' ἐπίθοντο καὶ ἔκλυον ἀνδρήσαντος,  
300 τεύχον δ' ὥς ἐπέτελλ'· ὃ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονος αἴσῃ.

## 2. TO DEMETER

you on how in future you can propitiate me with holy performance."

With these words the goddess changed her form and stature, thrusting old age away; beauty wafted all about her, a lovely fragrance spread from her scented dress, and a radiance shone afar from her immortal body; flaxen locks bestrewed her shoulders, and the sturdy house was filled with a brilliance as of lightning as she went out through the hall. The queen at once gave way at the knees, and remained speechless for a long time, not thinking to pick her darling child up from the floor. His sisters heard his piteous crying, and jumped down from their well-bedecked beds: one of them picked the child up in her arms and took him to her bosom, another stoked up the fire, while another dashed on tender young feet to help her mother up from the scented chamber. Then, gathering round him, they cuddled him and washed him as he squirmed, but he was not to be comforted: these were inferior rearers and nurses that held him now.

They then throughout the night tried to propitiate the glorious goddess, trembling with fear. As soon as dawn appeared, they told wide-ruling Keleos everything exactly, as the goddess, fair-garlanded Demeter, had instructed. He summoned his far-flung people to assembly, and told them to build a rich temple for lovely-haired Demeter, and an altar where the hill juts out. They promptly obeyed and hearkened to his words, and made it as he instructed, and it grew by divine dispensation. When they had finished it and

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274 νόον Ruhnkenius: νηδὺν M

280 ἀνγῆς Ruhnkenius: ἀντῆς M

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τέλεσαν καὶ ἐρώησαν καμάτοιο,  
 βάν ῥ' ἵμεν οἴκαδ' ἕκαστος. ἀτὰρ ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ  
 ἔνθα καθεζομένη μακάρων ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἀπάντων  
 μίμνε πόθωι μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρός.

305 αἰνότατον δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν  
 ποίησ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ κύντατον· οὐδέ τι γαῖα  
 σπέρμ' ἀνίει· κρύπτει γὰρ ἔϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ·  
 πολλὰ δὲ καμπύλ' ἄροτρα μάτην βόες εἵλκον  
 ἀρούραις,

πολλὸν δὲ κρὶ λευκὸν ἐτώσιον ἔμπεσε γαίῃ·  
 310 καὶ νύ κε πάμπαν ὄλεσσε γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων  
 λιμοῦ ὕπ' ἀργαλέης, γεράων τ' ἐρικυδέα τιμὴν  
 καὶ θυσιῶν ἡμερσεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντας,  
 εἰ μὴ Ζεὺς ἐνόησεν, ἐὼι δ' ἐφράσσατο θυμῷ.

Ἴριν δὲ πρῶτον χρυσόπτερον ὦρσε καλέσσαι  
 315 Δῆμητρ' ἡΰκομον πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσαν.  
 ὥς ἔφαθ'· ἧ δὲ Ζηνὶ κελαϊνεφέϊ Κρονίῳ  
 πείθετο καὶ τὸ μεσηγνὸν διέδραμεν ὦκα πόδεσσιν.  
 ἵκετο δὲ πτολίεθρον Ἐλευσίνος θυοέσσης,  
 ἡΐρεν δ' ἐν νηῶι Δημήτερα κυανόπεπλον,

320 καὶ μιν φωνήσας' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

“Δῆμητερ, καλέει σε πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα εἰδώς  
 ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων.

ἀλλ' ἴθι, μηδ' ἀτέλεστον ἐμὸν ἔπος ἐκ Διὸς ἔστω.”

ὥς φάτο λισσομένη· τῆς δ' οὐκ ἐπεπείθετο θυμός.  
 325 αὖτις ἔπειτα <πατὴρ> μάκαρας θεοὺς αἰὲν ἔοντας

302 ῥ' Wytttenbach: δ' M

## 2. TO DEMETER

paused from their toil, they went to their various homes; but flaxen Demeter took her seat in it and remained there, apart from all the blessed gods, pining for her deep-girt daughter.

The most dreadful and abominable year she made it for mankind across the nurturing earth. The land allowed nothing sown to come up, for fair-garlanded Demeter kept it hidden. Many were the bent ploughs that the oxen dragged in vain over the fields, and much the white barley seed that fell into the soil without result. Indeed, she would have destroyed humankind altogether by grievous famine, and deprived the Olympians of their honorific privileges and their sacrifices, had Zeus not taken notice, and counselled with his heart. As a first step he sent gold-winged Iris to summon Demeter the lovely-haired, whose form is beautiful. So he instructed her, and she in obedience to Zeus, the dark-cloud son of Kronos, swiftly darted across the intervening space and arrived at the fragrant town of Eleusis. She found dark-robed Demeter in her temple, and addressed her with winged words:

“Demeter, father Zeus whose counsels do not fade summons you to join the families of gods who are for ever. So come, and let the word I have from Zeus not go unfulfilled.”

So she entreated her, but her heart was not persuaded. Next the Father sent all the blessed eternal gods, one after

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309 γαίη Ruhnkenius: γαῖα M

314 Ἴριω Ruhnkenius: ἥρην M

317 τὸ μεσσηγὺ Ilgen: μεσσηγὺ M

325 πατήρ add. Valckenaer

- πάντας ἐπιπροΐαλλεν· ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ κίοντες  
 κίκλησκον καὶ πολλὰ δίδον περικαλλέα δῶρα,  
 τιμὰς τὰς κε βόλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐλέσθαι·  
 ἀλλ' οὐ τις πείσαι δύνατο φρένας οὐδὲ νόημα  
 330 θυμῶι χωομένης, στερεῶς δ' ἠναίνετο μύθους.  
 οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ἔφασκε θυώδεος Οὐλύμποιο  
 πρὶν γ' ἐπιβήσεσθαι, οὐ πρὶν γῆς καρπὸν ἀνήσειν,  
 πρὶν ἴδοι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐὴν εὐώπιδα κούρην.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα  
 Ζεὺς,  
 335 εἰς Ἑρεβος πέμψε χρυσόρραπιν Ἀργειφόντην,  
 ὄφρ' Αἴδην μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν  
 ἀγνὴν Περσεφόνειαν ἀπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος  
 ἐς φάος ἐξαγάγοι μετὰ δαίμονας, ὅφρα ἑ μήτηρ  
 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα μεταλλήξειε χόλοιο.  
 340 Ἑρμῆς δ' οὐκ ἀπίθησεν, ἄφαρ δ' ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης  
 ἐσσυμένως κατόρουσε λιπὼν ἔδος Οὐλύμποιο.  
 τέτμε δὲ τὸν γε ἄνακτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ἑόντα,  
 ἦμενον ἐν λεχέεσσι σὺν αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι  
 πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένηι μητρὸς πόθωι· †ἥ δ' ἐπ' ἀτλήτων  
 345 ἔργοις θεῶν μακάρων μητίσseto βουλῇ.†  
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμενος προσέφη κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης·  
 “Αἰδη κυανοχαῖτα καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσω,ν,  
 Ζεὺς με πατὴρ ἠνωγεν ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν  
 ἐξαγαγεῖν Ἑρέβεσφι μετὰ σφέας, ὅφρα ἑ μήτηρ  
 350 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα χόλου καὶ μήνιος αἰνῆς  
 ἀθανάτοις λήξειεν· ἐπεὶ μέγα μῆδεται ἔργον,  
 φθεῖσαι φῦλ' ἀμενῆνὰ χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων



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another: they went in turn to summon her, offering many resplendent gifts, the choice of whatever privileges she wanted among the immortals. But none was able to bend her will, angry in heart as she was, and she firmly rejected their speeches. She said she would never set foot on fragrant Olympus, or allow the earth's fruit to come up, until she set eyes on her fair-faced daughter.

When heavy-booming, wide-sounding Zeus heard that, he sent the gold-wand Argus-slayer<sup>13</sup> to the Lower Darkness to persuade Hades with soft words and bring chaste Persephone out from the misty dark to the daylight to join the gods, so that her mother might set eyes on her and cease from her wrath. Hermes did not demur, but straightway left the seat of Olympus and sped down under the recesses of the earth. He found its lord within his mansions, seated on his couch with his modest consort, who was full of resistance from longing for her mother . . . [*unintelligible*] . . . Standing close to him, the strong Argus-slayer addressed him:

“Hades of the sable hair, lord over the dead, Zeus the father has instructed me to bring illustrious Persephone out from the Darkness to them, so that her mother may set eyes on her and cease from her wrath and her dreadful resentment against the immortals. For she is purposing a grave thing, to destroy the feeble stock of earthborn

<sup>13</sup> Hermes.

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328 τὰς West, κε βόλοιτο Allen: θ' ἄς κ' ἐθέλοιτο M

348 με Wyttenbach: σε M

349 Ἑρέβεςφι Franke: -ευσφι M

351 λήξειεν Burney: παύσειεν M



σπέρμ' ὑπὸ γῆς κρύπτουσα, καταφθινύθουσα δὲ  
τιμάς

ἀθανάτων. ἥ δ' αἶνὸν ἔχει χόλον, οὐδὲ θεοῖσιν  
355 μίσγεται, ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε θνώδεος ἔνδοθι νηοῦ  
ἦσται, Ἐλευσίνος κραναὸν πτολίεθρον ἔχουσα."

ὥς φάτο· μείδῃσεν δὲ ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀἰδωνεύς  
ὀφρύσιν, οὐδ' ἀπίθησε Διὸς βασιλῆος ἐφετμῆς.  
ἔσσυμένως δ' ἐκέλευσε δαΐφρονι Περσεφονείῃ·  
360 "ἔρχεο, Περσεφόνη, παρὰ μητέρα κνανόπεπλον  
ἥπιον ἐν στήθεσσι μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἔχουσα,  
μηδέ τι δυσθύμαινε λίην περιώσιον ἄλλων.  
οὔ τοι ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀεικῆς ἔσσομ' ἀκοίτης  
αὐτοκασίγνητος πατρὸς Διός· ἔνθα δ' ἐοῦσα  
365 δεσπόσσεις πάντων ὀπόσα ζῶει τε καὶ ἔρπει,  
τιμὰς δὲ σχήσησθα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι μεγίστας,  
τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσσεται ἥματα πάντα,  
οἳ κεν μὴ θυσίησι τεὸν μένος ἰλάσκωνται  
εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες, ἐναίσιμα δῶρα τελοῦντες."

370 ὥς φάτο· γήθησεν δὲ περίφρων Περσεφόνεια,  
καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος· αὐτὰρ ὃ γ'  
αὐτῇ

ροίῃς κόκκον ἔδωκε φαγεῖν μελιηδέα λάθρῃ,  
ἀμφὶ ἔνωμήσας, ἵνα μὴ μένοι ἥματα πάντα  
αὔθι παρ' αἰδοίῃ Δημήτερι κνανοπέπλῳ.

375 ἵππους δὲ προπάροιθεν ὑπὸ χρυσέοισιν ὄχεσφιν  
ἔντυεν ἀθανάτους πολυσημάντωρ Ἀἰδωνεύς·  
ἥ δ' ὀχέων ἐπέβη, παρὰ δὲ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης  
ἡνία καὶ μάστιγα λαβὼν μετὰ χερσὶ φίλησιν

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humankind by keeping the seed hidden under the soil, and so diminishing the immortals' tribute. Her wrath is dreadful, and she is not mingling with the gods but stays apart, seated in her fragrant temple, occupying Eleusis' rugged citadel."

So he spoke; and the lord of those below, Aïdoneus, smiled with his brows, but did not demur from the command of Zeus the king. Quickly he told wise Persephone: "Go, Persephone, to your dark-robed mother's side, keeping a gentle temper in your heart, and be not too excessively aggrieved. I shall not make you an unsuitable husband to have among the gods, own brother to your father Zeus; by being here, you will be mistress of everything that lives and moves, and have the greatest privileges among the immortals, while there will ever be punishment for those who act unrighteously and fail to propitiate your fury with sacrifices, in holy performance, making the due offerings."

So he spoke, and prudent Persephone was delighted, and promptly jumped up in joy. But he gave her a honey-sweet pomegranate seed to eat, surreptitiously, peering about him, to prevent her from staying up there for ever with reverend Demeter of the dark robe.

Then the Major General Aïdoneus harnessed his immortal steeds at the front under the golden chariot. She got into it, while beside her the strong Argus-slayer took the reins and the goad in his hands and urged the horses

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364 *ἐοῦσα* Ruhnkenius: *ἰοῦσα* M

371 *αὐτῇ* Voss: *αὐτὸς* M

- σεῦε διέκ μεγάρων· τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκουτε πετέσθην.  
 380 ῥίμφα δὲ μακρὰ κέλευθα διήνυσαν, οὐδὲ θάλασσα  
 οὔθ' ὕδωρ ποταμῶν οὔτ' ἄγχεα ποιήεντα  
 ἵππων ἀθανάτων οὔτ' ἄκριες ἔσχεθον ὀρμήν,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν βαθὺν ἡέρα τέμνον ἰόντες·  
 στήσῃ δ' ἄγων ὅθι μίμνεν εὖστέφανος Δημήτηρ  
 385 νηοῖο προπάροιθε θυώδεος. ἥ δὲ ἰδοῦσα  
 ἦϊξ' ἡὔτε μαινὰς ὄρος κάτα δάσκιον ὕληι,  
 Περσεφόνη δ' ἐτέρ[ωθεν, ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ὄμματα καλά]  
 μητρὸς ἐῆς, κατ' [ἄρ' ἢ γ' ὄχρεα προλιποῦσα καὶ  
 ἵππους]  
 ἄλτο θέει[ν, δειρῇ δέ οἱ ἔμπεσεν ἀμφιχυθεῖσα.]  
 390 τῇ δὲ [φίλην ἔτι παῖδα ἐῆς μετὰ χερσὶν ἐχούσῃ]  
 α[ἰψα δόλον θυμός τιν' οἶσατο, τρέσσε δ' ἄρ' αἰνῶς]  
 πα<ν>ομ[ένη φιλότητος, ἄφαρ δ' ἐρεεῖνετο μύθῳ]  
 “τέκνον, μή ρά τί μοι σ[ύ γε πάσσαις νέρθεν ἐοῦσα]  
 βρώμης; ἐξαῦδα, [μὴ κεῖθ', ἵνα εἶδομεν ἄμφω]  
 395 ὥς μὲν γάρ κεν ἐοῦσα π[αρ' ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν]  
 καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πατρὶ κελ[αινεφείῃ Κρονίωνι]  
 ναιετάοις πάντεσσι τετιμ[ένη ἀθανάτοι]σιν·  
 εἰ δ' ἐπάσω, πάλιν <αὖτις> ἰοῦσ' ὑπ[ὸ κεύθεσι  
 γαίης]  
 οἰκήσεις ὥρέων τρίτατον μέρ[ος εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,]  
 400 τὰς δὲ δύω παρ' ἐμοί τε καὶ [ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν].  
 ὁππότε δ' αὖθις γαῖ' εὐώδε[σιν] εἰαρινο[ῖσιν]  
 παντοδαποῖς θάλλει, τότε ἀπὸ ζόφου ἡερόεντος  
 αὖτις ἄνει, μέγα θαῦμα θεοῖς θνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις.

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out through the halls, and they flew forward without demur. Swiftly they accomplished the long legs of their journey: neither sea nor flowing rivers nor grassy glens nor mountain peaks stayed the immortal steeds' impetus, but they passed over them cleaving the deep air. He brought them to a halt where fair-garlanded Demeter was waiting, in front of her fragrant temple, and when she saw them she rushed forward like a maenad on the shady-forested mountain. Persephone on her side, [when she saw] her mother's [lovely eyes], leaped down [from the chariot] and ran [and fell about her neck in embrace].

[But even as she held her child in her arms, her heart suddenly suspected some trick, and she was very afraid,] endi[ng the embrace, and quickly she asked:] "My child, I hope you didn't [taste] any food [when you were down there? Tell me, [don't hide it, let's both know about it]. For if you didn't, you can be w[ith the rest of the immortals] and live with me and your father, the dark-cloud son of Kronos, with all the immortals honoring you; but if you tasted anything, you will go back down and dwell in the recesses of the earth for a third of the year, until the due date, spending the other two thirds with me and the other gods; and when the earth blooms with sweet-smelling spring flowers of every kind, then you will come back up from the misty dark, a great wonder to the gods and to mortals. < But

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386 ὕλη Ruhnkenius: ὕλης M

387-93 e.g. suppl. Goodwin, 394 Hermann, 395 Bücheler, 396-404 M<sup>2</sup>

398 ἐπάσσω Wyttenbach: παῖσα M     αὖτις add. Ruhnkenius

- 403a <εἰπέ δέ, πῶς σ' ἥρπαξεν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡερόεντα,>  
καὶ τίνι σ' ἐξαπάτησε δόλῳ κρατερ[ὸς  
Πολυδ]έγμων;"
- 405 τὴν δ' αὖ Περσεφόνῃ περικαλλῆς ἀντίον ἦδ' α·  
"τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, μήτηρ, ἐρέω νημερτέα πάντα.  
εὖτέ μοι Ἑρμῆς ἦ[λθ]' ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὤκυσ  
παρ πατέρος Κρονίδαο καὶ ἄλλων οὐραنيῶνων  
ἐλθεῖν ἐξ Ἑρέβεος, ἵνα μ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα  
410 λήξαις ἀθανάτοισι χόλου καὶ μήνιος αἰνῆς,  
αὐτίκ' ἐγὼν ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος, αὐτὰρ ὁ  
λάθρηι  
ἔμβαλέ μοι ροιῆς κόκκον, μελιθεῖ' ἐδωδῆν,  
ἄκουσαν δὲ βίῃ με προσηνάγκασσε πάσασθαι.  
ὥς δέ μ' ἀναρπάξας Κρονίδεω πυκινὴν διὰ μῆτιν  
415 ὤχετο πατρὸς ἐμοῖο φέρων ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης,  
ἐξερέω, καὶ πάντα δίδκομαι ὥς ἐρεείνεις.  
ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν' ἱμερτὸν λειμῶνα,  
Λευκίππη Φαινώ τε καὶ Ἥλέκτρῃ καὶ Ἰάνθῃ  
καὶ Μελίτῃ Ἰάχῃ τε Ῥόκδ' αἰά τε Καλλιρόῃ τε  
420 Μηλόβοσίς τε Τύχῃ τε καὶ Ὠκυρόῃ καλυκῶπις  
Χρυσῆϊς τ' Ἰάνειρά τ' Ἀκάστῃ τ' Ἀδμήτῃ τε  
καὶ Ῥοδόπῃ Πλουτώ τε καὶ ἱμερόεσσα Καλυψώ  
καὶ Στυξ Οὐρανίῃ τε Γαλαξάυρῃ τ' ἐρατεινῇ  
Παλλάς τ' ἐγρεμάχῃ καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα,  
425 παίζομεν ἥδ' ἄνθεα δρέπομεν χεῖρεσσ' ἐρόεντα,  
μίγδα κρόκον τ' ἀγανὸν καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἥδ' ὑάκινθον  
καὶ ῥοδέας κάλυκας καὶ λείρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,  
νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν ἔφυσ' ὥς περ κρόκον εὐρέϊα χθών.

## 2. TO DEMETER

tell me, how did he snatch you down to the misty dark, >  
and what did he trick you with, the mighty Hospitable  
One?"

Beautiful Persephone spoke to her in reply: "Well, mother, I will tell you everything just as it was. When coursing Hermes came swift with the message from father Zeus and the other Heavenly Ones that I should leave the Darkness, so that you might set eyes on me and cease from your wrath and your dreadful resentment against the immortals, I at once jumped up in joy; but he surreptitiously got a pomegranate seed into me, a honey-sweet food, and made me taste it against my will. As to how he snatched me up through the crafty design of Zeus my father, and took me off to the recesses of the earth, I will explain and go through it all, just as you ask. We were all frolicking in the lovely meadow—Leucippe and Phaeno and Electra and Ianthé, and Melite and Iache and Rhodeia and Callirhoe, and Melobosis and Tyche and Ocyrhoe with eyes like buds, and Chryseis and Ianeira and Acaste and Admete, and Rhodope and Plouto and captivating Calypso, and Styx and Ourania and lovely Galaxaura, and Pallas the battle-rouser and Artemis profuse of arrows—and we were picking lovely flowers, a mixture of gentle saffron and iris and hyacinth and rosebuds and lilies, wondrous to behold, and narcissus that the broad earth put out like saffron. I was

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403a e.g. suppl. Goodwin, lac. statuerat Ruhnkenius

405 Φερσεφον[η Π2

407 εὔτε μοι ἀγγελος ἡλ[θ' ἐριουννίος Ἀργεῖφοντης Π2

411 αὐτίκ' Ilgen: αὐτὰρ M

419 om. Π1 et Paus. 4.30.4

427 ῥοδέας Heyne: ῥόδα ἐς M

- αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ δρεπόμην περὶ χάρματι, γαῖα δ' ἔνερθεν  
 430 χώρησεν, τῇ δ' ἔκθορ' ἄναξ κρατερὸς Πολυδέγμων,  
 βῆ δὲ φέρων ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἐν ἄρμασι χρυσείοισιν  
 πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένην, ἐβόησα δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ.  
 ταῦτά τοι ἀχυνμένα περ ἀληθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύω.”  
 ὥς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν  
 ἔχουσαι  
 435 πολλὰ μάλ' ἀλλήλων κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἵαινον  
 ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι, ἀχέων δ' ἀπεπαύετο θυμός·  
 γηθοσύνας δὲ δέχοντο παρ' ἀλλήλων ἔδιδ[όν τε.]  
 τῇσιν δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθ' Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος,  
 440 πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἀμφαγάπησε κόρην Δημήτερος ἀγνῆς·  
 ἐκ τοῦ οἱ πρόπολος καὶ ὁπάων ἔπλετ' ἄνασσα.  
 ταῖς δὲ μετάγγελλον ἦκε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 ῥείην ἡΰκομον, Δημήτερα κυανόπεπλον  
 ἀξέμεναι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν· ὑπέδεκτο δὲ τιμάς  
 δωσέμεν, ἅς κεν ἔλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν·  
 445 νεῦσε δέ οἱ κούρην ἔτεος περιτελλομένοιο  
 τὴν τριτάτην μὲν μοῖραν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡρόεντα,  
 τὰς δὲ δύο παρὰ μητρὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν.  
 ὥς ἔφατ'· οὐδ' ἀπίθῃσε θεὰ Διὸς ἀγγελιάων,  
 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἥϊξε κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων,  
 450 ἐς δ' ἄρα <ῚΡά>ριον ἶξε, φερέσβιον οὐθαρ ἀρούρης  
 τὸ πρίν, ἀτὰρ τότε γ' οὐ τι φερέσβιον, ἀλλὰ ἔκηλον  
 ἐστήκει πανάφυλλον· ἔκευθε δ' ἄρα κρῖ λευκόν  
 μήδεσι Δήμητρος καλλισφύρου· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 μέλλεν ἄφαρ ταναοῖσι κομήσειν ἀσταχύνεσιν  
 455 ἦρος ἀεξομένοιο, πέδωι δ' ἄρα πίονες ὄγμοι



## 2. TO DEMETER

picking away happily, when the ground beneath gave way, and there the lord, the mighty Hospitable One, leaped forth. He went off below the earth with me in his golden chariot, for all my resistance, and I screamed aloud. I'm sorry, but that's the whole truth I'm telling you."

So they then all day long, at one in their feelings, greatly warmed each other's hearts with embraces, and assuaged their sorrows, giving each other joy and receiving it. And Hecate of the glossy veil joined them, and gave the daughter of holy Demeter many an embrace; because of that the goddess became her attendant and servant.

Then heavy-booming, wide-sounding Zeus sent lovely-haired Rhea with a message for them, to bring dark-robed Demeter to join the families of the gods, and he promised to give her what privileges among the immortal gods she might choose. And he gave his approval that her daughter, in the course of the year, should go for a third of it down to the misty dark, spending the other two thirds with her mother and the other immortals. So he spoke, and Rhea did not demur to take Zeus' message, but swiftly sped down from Olympus' peaks, and came to Rarion:<sup>14</sup> in the past a life-giving ploughland to be milked, but not life-giving then, for it stood still and leafless, hiding its white barley by the designs of fair-ankled Demeter, though afterwards it would soon come to wave with long ears of corn as the spring developed, and on the ground its rich furrows

<sup>14</sup> An arable plain somewhere near the Eleusinian sanctuary.

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437 γηθοοσύνας Ruhnkenius: γηθόσυναι M

442 Δημήτερα Fontein: ἡν μ(ητέ)ρα M



βρισμένον ἀσταχύων, τὰ δ' ἐν ἑλλεδανοῖσι δίδεσθαι.  
 ἔνθ' ἐπέβη πρῶτιστον ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο·  
 ἀσπασίως δ' ἴδον ἀλλήλας, κεχάρηντο δὲ θυμῶι.  
 τὴν δ' ὦδε προσέειπε Ῥέη λιπαροκρήδεμνος·

460 “δεῦρο, τέκος, καλέει σε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα  
 Ζεὺς

ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φύλα θεῶν, ὑπέδεκτο δὲ τιμάς  
 [δωσέμεν, ἅς κ' ἐθέλησθαι] μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν·  
 [νεῦσε δέ τοι κούρην ἔτεος π]εριτελλομένοιο  
 [τὴν τριτάτην μὲν μοῖραν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἦ]ερόεντα,  
 465 [τὰς δὲ δύο παρὰ σοί τε καὶ ἄλλοις] ἀθανάτοισιν.  
 [ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη τελέ]εσθαι, ἐὼι δ' ἐπένευσε κάρητι.  
 [ἀλλ' ἴθι, τέκνον] ἐμόν, καὶ πείθεο, μηδέ τι λήην  
 ἀ[ζήχες μεν]έαινε κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίῳ·  
 α[ἴψα δὲ κα]ρπὸν ἄεξε φερέσβιον ἀνθρώποισιν.”

470 ὦ[ς ἔφατ', οὐ]δ' ἀπίθησεν ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ,  
 αἴψα δὲ καρπὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀρουράων ἐριβώλων.  
 πᾶσα δὲ φύλλοισιν τε καὶ ἄνθεσιν εὐρεῖα χθῶν  
 ἔβρισ'· ἣ δὲ κιούσα θεμιστοπόλοισ βασιλεύσιν  
 δείξεν, Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ  
 475 Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῶι θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν,  
 δρησμοσύνην ἱερῶν, καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια καλὰ  
 Τριπτολέμῳ τε Πολυξείνῳ <τ'>, ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ  
 Διοκλεῖ,

σεμνά, τά τ' οὐ πως ἔστι παρεξ[ίμ]εν οὐ[τε]  
 πυθέσθαι

οὐτ' ἀχέειν μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει  
 αὐδὴν.

## 2. TO DEMETER

would be heavy with them, with others already being tied in sheaves. That was where she first set foot as she descended from the fathomless air. They were glad to see each other, and rejoiced at heart. This is how Rhea of the glossy veil addressed her:

“Come, my child, heavy-booming, wide-sounding Zeus summons you to join the families of the gods, and he promised to give you what privileges among the immortal gods you may wish. And he gave his approval that your daughter, in the course of the year, should go for a third of it down to the misty dark, spending the other two thirds with you and the other immortals. [This is how he said it] would be, and he confirmed it with a nod of his head. So go, my child, do what he says, and don’t go too far by maintaining your wrath uninterrupted against the dark-cloud son of Kronos. Quickly make the life-giving produce grow for human-kind.”

So she spoke, and fair-garlanded Demeter did not demur, but quickly made the produce of the loam-rich ploughlands come up; and the whole broad earth grew heavy with leafage and bloom. She went to the lawgiver kings, Triptolemos and horse-goadng Diocles, strong Eumolpos and Keleos leader of hosts, and taught them the sacred service, and showed the beautiful mysteries to Triptolemos, Polyxenos, and also Diocles—the solemn mysteries which one cannot depart from or enquire about or broadcast, for great awe of the gods restrains us from

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456 δίδεσθαι Voss: δεδέσθαι M 462–470 suppl. M<sup>2</sup>,  
 praeter quod 465 Ruhnkenius, 466 Goodwin  
 476 δρησμοσύνην Paus. 2.14.3: χρησμοσύνην θ’ M καλὰ  
 M: πᾶσι Paus. 478 τ’ Ilgen: γ’ M

- 480 ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ' ὅπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων·  
 ὃς δ' ἀτελής ἱερῶν ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὐ ποθ' ὁμοίων  
 αἴσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάνθ' ὑπεθήκατο δῖα θεάων,  
 βάν ῥ' ἔμεν Οὐλυμπόνδε θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγυριν ἄλλων.  
 485 ἔνθα δὲ ναιετάουσι παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,  
 σεμναί τ' αἰδοῖαί τε· μέγ' ὄλβιος, ὃν τιν' ἐκεῖναι  
 προφρονέως φίλωνται ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων·  
 αἶψα δέ οἱ πέμπουσιν ἐφέστιον ἐς μέγα δῶμα  
 Πλοῦτον, ὃς ἀνθρώποις ἄφενος θνητοῖσι δίδωσιν.  
 490 ἄλλ' ἄγ', Ἑλευσίνος θυοέσσης δῆμον ἔχουσαι  
 καὶ Πάρον ἀμφιρύτην Ἀντρῶνά τε πετρήεντα,  
 πότνια ἀγλαόδωρ' ὠρηφόρε Διοῖ ἄνασσα  
 αὐτὴ καὶ κούρη περικαλλὴς Περσεφόνεια,  
 πρόφρονες ἀντ' ὠιδῆς βίοτον θυμήρε' ὀπάζειν.  
 495 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

### 3. ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ

- Μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο,  
 ὃν τε θεοὶ κατὰ δῶμα Διὸς τρομέουσιν ἰόντα·  
 καὶ ῥά τ' ἀναΐσσουνσιν ἐπὶ σχεδὸν ἐρχομένοιο  
 πάντες ἀφ' ἐδράων, ὅτε φαίδιμα τόξα τιταίνει.  
 5 Λητὼ δ' οἴη μίμνε παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,  
 ἥ ῥα βίον τ' ἐχάλασσε καὶ ἐκλήϊσε φαρέτρην,  
 καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἰφθίμων ὤμων χεῖρεσσιν ἐλοῦσα  
 τόξον ἀνεκρέμασε πρὸς κίονα πατρὸς ἐοῖο

## 2. TO DEMETER

speaking. Blessed is he of men on earth who has beheld them, whereas he that is uninitiated in the rites, or he that has had no part in them, never enjoys a similar lot down in the musty dark when he is dead.

After the goddess had instructed them in everything, she and Persephone went to Olympus to join the congregation of the other gods. There they dwell beside Zeus whose sport is the thunderbolt, august and reverend. Greatly blessed is he of men on earth whom they love and favor: they soon send Wealth to lodge in his mansion, the god who bestows affluence on mortals.

So come, you that preside over the people of fragrant Eleusis, and seagirt Paros, and rocky Antron—Lady, bringer of resplendent gifts in season, mistress Deo, both you and your daughter, beautiful Persephone: be favorable, and grant comfortable livelihood in return for my singing. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

## 3. TO APOLLO

Let me call to mind and not neglect Apollo the far-shooter, at whose coming the gods tremble in Zeus' house. They all spring up from their seats as he approaches, when he draws his shining bow. Leto alone remains beside Zeus whose sport is the thunderbolt; she unstrings his bow and closes his quiver, and taking the bow from his strong shoulders she hangs it up on a pillar of his father's house from a

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490 ἀλλὰ θελευσῖνος M: corr. Ruhnkenius

494 ὀπάζειν Voss: ὄπαζε M      3 τ' Hermann: γ' Ω

πασσάλου ἐκ χρυσέου· τὸν δ' ἐς θρόνον εἶσεν  
ἄγουσα.

- 10 τῶι δ' ἄρα νέκταρ ἔδωκε πατὴρ δέπαϊ χρυσεΐωι  
δεικνύμενος φίλον υἱόν, ἔπειτα δὲ δαίμονες ἄλλοι  
ἐνθα καθίζουσιν· χαίρει δέ τε πότνια Λητώ,  
οὔνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱὸν ἔτικτεν.

- χαῖρε μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,  
15 Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,  
τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ,  
κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνθιον ὄχθον,  
ἀγχοτάτῳ φοῖνικος, ὑπ' Ἴνωποῖο ῥεέθροις.

- πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω, πάντως εὖνμνον ἔοντα;  
20 πάντῃ γάρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νομὸς βεβλήγεται ὠιδῆς,  
ἤμην ἀν' ἥπειρον πορτιτρόφον ἥδ' ἀνὰ νήσους.  
πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τοι ἄδον καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι  
ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοί θ' ἄλαδε προρέοντες  
ἄκταί τ' εἰς ἄλλα κεκλιμέναι λιμένες τε θαλάσσης.  
25 ἦ ὥς σε πρῶτον Λητῶ τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσιν,  
κλινθεῖσα πρὸς Κύνθου ὄρος κραναῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ,  
Δήλῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, ἐκάτερθε δὲ κύμα κελαινόν  
ἐξήiei χέρσονδε λιγυπνοίοις ἀνέμοισιν;  
ἐνθεν ἀπορνύμενος πᾶσι θνητοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις.

- 30 ὅσους Κρήτῃ <τ'> ἐντὸς ἔχει καὶ δῆμος  
Ἀθηνέων  
νῆσός τ' Αἰγίνῃ ναυσικλειτῇ τ' Εὐβοία  
Αἰγαί τ' Εἰρεσίαι τε καὶ ἀγχιᾶλῃ Πεπάρηθος

19 τ' ἄρ Barnes: γάρ Ω

### 3. TO APOLLO

peg of gold, leads him to a chair, and seats him on it. His father gives him nectar in a golden cup, toasting his dear son, and then the other deities do likewise from where they sit, while the mistress Leto rejoices at having borne a powerful archer son.

I salute you, O blessed Leto, for you bore splendid children, the lord Apollo and Artemis profuse of arrows: her you bore in Ortygia, him in rocky Delos, leaning against the long eminence of Cynthus, hard by the palm-tree, below the streams of Inopos.

How shall I hymn you, fit subject as you are in every respect? For in every direction, Phoibos, you have laid down a field for song, both on the heifer-rearing mainland and across the islands. All the peaks find favor with you, and the upper ridges of the high mountains, and the rivers flowing on to the sea, and the headlands that lean toward the main, and the sea harbors. Shall it be how in the beginning Leto bore you for mortals' delight, leaning against Cynthus' mountain on a rocky island, seagirt Delos, while on both sides the dark waves came up on the shores under the keening winds? From where you went forth and are become lord over all humankind.

All whom Crete has within it, and the people of Athens, the island of Aegina and Euboea famed for its shipping, Aegae, Iresiae, and maritime Peparethos, Thracian Athos

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20 νομοὶ Barnes

βεβλήατ' ἀοιδῆς Ilgen

23-73 om. M

26 Κύνθου Holstein: Κύνθος Ψ

30 τ' add. Hermann

32 Πειρεσιαί Ruhnkenius

- Θρηϊκίος τ' Ἀθρόως καὶ Πηλίου ἄκρα κάρηνα  
 34 Θρηϊκίη τε Σάμος Ἰδης τ' ὄρεα σκίοεντα,  
 36 Ἴμβρος ἐυκτιμένη καὶ Λῆμνος ἀμιχθαλόεσσα  
 37 Λέσβος τ' ἡγαθήη, Μάκαρος ἔδος Αἰολίωνος,  
 35 Σκῦρος καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Αὐτοκάνης ὄρος αἰπὺ  
 καὶ Χίος, ἣ νήσων λιπαρωτάτη εἶν ἀλλὶ κείται,  
 παιπαλόεις τε Μίμας καὶ Κωρύνκου ἄκρα κάρηνα  
 40 καὶ Κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα καὶ Αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπὺ  
 καὶ Σάμος ὑδρὴλὴ Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα  
 Μίλητός τε Κόως τε, πόλις Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
 καὶ Κνίδος αἰπεινὴ καὶ Κάρπαθος ἡνεμόεσσα  
 Νάξος τ' ἡδὲ Πάρος Ῥήναιά τε πετρήεσσα·  
 45 τόσσον ἔπ' ὠδίνουσα Ἐκηβόλον ἵκετο Λητώ,  
 εἴ τις οἱ γαιέων νιεῖ θέλοι οἰκία θέσθαι.  
 αἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη  
 Φοῖβον δέξασθαι καὶ πιωτέρη περ εἶουσα,  
 πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐπὶ Δήλου ἐβήσετο πότνια Λητώ,  
 50 καὶ μιν ἀνειρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “Δῆλ', εἰ γάρ κ' ἐθέλοις ἔδος ἔμμεναι υἱὸς ἐμοῖο  
 Φοῖβου Ἀπόλλωνος, θέσθαι τ' ἐνὶ πίονα νηόν.  
 ἄλλος δ' οὐ τις σείῳ ποθ' ἄψεται, οὐδέ σε τίσει·  
 οὐδ' εὖβων σέ <γ> ἔσεσθαι οἶομαι οὐδ' εὖμηλον,  
 55 οὐδὲ τρύνην οἴσεις, οὔτ' ἄρ φυτὰ μυρία φύσεις.  
 αἱ δέ κ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκαέργου νηὸν ἔχρισθα,  
 ἀνθρωποὶ τοι πάντες ἀγινήσουσ' ἐκατόμβας  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι, κνίσῃ δέ τοι ἄσπετος αἰεὶ  
 δημοῦ ἀναΐξει, βοσκήσεις θ' οἱ κέ σ' ἔχωσιν  
 60 χειρὸς ἅπ' ἀλλοτρίης, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι πῖαρ ὑπ' οὔδας.”

### 3. TO APOLLO

and the summits of Pelion, Samothrace and Ida's shaded mountains, well-cultivated Imbros and inhospitable Lemnos, fair Lesbos, settlement of Macar the Aeolid, Scyros, Phocaea, and steep Autocane, Chios, sleekest of islands set in the sea, rugged Mimas and the summits of Corycus, splendid Claros and steep Aisagea, well-watered Samos and Mycale's steep summits, Miletus and Cos, home of the Merop people, steep Cnidos and windy Carpathos, Naxos and Paros and rocky Rhenaea—all that way Leto travelled when pregnant with the Far-shooter, to see if any of those lands would be willing to give her son a home. But they were very tremulous and afraid, and none, however rich, ventured to accept Phoibos, until at last the mistress Leto set foot on Delos, and asked her with winged words:

"Delos, if only you would be willing to be the seat of my son, Phoibos Apollo, and establish his rich temple on your soil! No one else is ever going to engage with you or honor you, for I do not see you ever being rich in cattle or sheep, nor will you bring forth a harvest or grow abundant fruit trees. But if you have the temple of Apollo the far-shooter, all men will bring you hecatombs as they congregate here, and you will have the savor of the fat ever going up beyond measure, and you will feed your inhabitants from the hand of others, for you do not have richness under your soil."

35 post 37 trai. Humbert

36 εὔκτ- Hermann: τ' εὐκτ- Ψ

53 τίσει Ernesti: λίσσει Ψ

54 γ' add. Hermann

59 δημου Baumeister, ἀναΐξει Schneidewin, βοσκήσεις Stoll: δηρὸν (δημὸν) ἀναξ εἰ βόσκους fere codd.



ὥς φάτο· χαῖρε δὲ Δῆλος, ἀμειβομένη δὲ  
προσηύδα·

- “Λητοῖ κυδίστη, θύγατερ μέγαλοιο Κοίοιο,  
ἀσπασίη κεν ἐγὼ γε γονὴν Ἑκάτοιο ἄνακτος  
δεξαίμην· αἰνῶς γὰρ ἐτήτυμόν εἰμι δυσηχῆς  
65 ἀνδράσιν, ὧδε δέ κεν περιτιμήεσσα γενοίμην.  
ἀλλὰ τόδε τρομέω, Λητοῖ, ἔπος, οὐδέ σε κεύσω·  
λίην γάρ τινά φασιν ἀτάσθαλον Ἀπόλλωνα  
ἔσσεσθαι, μέγα δὲ πρυτανευσέμεν ἀθανάτοισιν  
καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζεῖδωρον ἄρουραν.  
70 τὼ ῥ’ αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,  
μὴ ὁπότ’ ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ἴδῃ φάος ἡελίοιο  
νῆσον ἀτιμήσας, ἐπεὶ ἦ κραναήπεδός εἰμι,  
ποσσι καταστρέψας ὥσῃ ἀλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν·  
ἔνθ’ ἐμὲ μὲν μέγα κύμα κατὰ κρατὸς ἄλις αἰεὶ  
75 κλύσσει, ὃ δ’ ἄλλην γαῖαν ἀφίξεται, ἥι κεν ἄδῃ οἱ  
τεύξασθαι νηὸν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δεινδρήεντα·  
πουλύποδες δ’ ἐν ἐμοὶ θαλάμας φῶκαί τε μέλαιναι  
οἰκία ποιήσονται ἀκηδέα χήτεϊ λαῶν.  
ἀλλ’ εἴ μοι τλαίης γε, θεά, μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι,  
80 ἐνθάδε μιν πρῶτον τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηὸν  
ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
πάντας ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολυνώνμος ἔσται.”  
ὥς ἄρ’ ἔφη· Λητὼ δὲ θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοσσεν·  
“ἵστω νῦν τάδε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεῖν  
85 καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος  
ὄρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν·  
ἦ μὲν Φοῖβον τῇδε θυώδης ἔσσεται αἰεὶ

### 3. TO APOLLO

So she spoke; and Delos was glad, and answered her: "Leto most glorious, daughter of great Koios, I should be happy to accept the birth of lord Far-shooter, for I am indeed terribly ill-famed among men, and in this way I can become highly esteemed. But I am apprehensive about one thing I have heard, Leto, I won't conceal it from you: they say Apollo will be an all too wild sort, and lord it greatly over immortals and mortals across the grain-giving land. So my heart is terribly afraid that as soon as he sees the light of the sun he may spurn this island, as I am indeed rocky of soil, and kick it over into the sea's expanses. Then I shall have the mighty waves surging over my head in a mass for evermore, and he will go to another land, wherever it pleases him to make his temple and his wooded groves, while it will be the octopuses and the dark seals that make their homes in me, all untroubled in the absence of people. But suppose you could bring yourself, goddess, to swear a powerful oath that this will be the first place he makes his beautiful temple to be an oracular site for men, and that (only) after that (will he go) all over the world, since indeed his name will be widely known?"

So she spoke, and Leto swore the gods' powerful oath: "So may Earth be my witness, and the broad Heaven above, and the trickling Water of Shuddering—the most powerful and dreadful oath that the blessed gods can swear—truly Phoibos' fragrant altar and precinct will for

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62 Κοίσιος Barnes: Κρόσιος Ψ

82 ante h.v. lac. stat. Hermann

87 αἰεί Barnes: αἰέν Ω

ἔσται M: ἔστιν Ψ

βωμὸς καὶ τέμενος, τίσει δέ σέ γ' ἔξοχα πάντων."

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὅμοσέν τε τελεύτησέν τε τὸν ὄρκον,

90 Δῆλος μὲν μάλα χαῖρε γόνωι Ἑκάτοιο ἄνακτος·

Δητῶ δ' ἐννήμῳ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας ἀέπτοις

ὠδίνεσσι πέπαρτο. θεαὶ δ' ἔσαν ἔνδοθι πᾶσαι,

ὅσσαι ἄρισται ἔασι, Διώνη τε Ῥεῖη τε

Ἴχναίη τε Θέμις καὶ ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη,

95 ἄλλαί τ' ἀθάναται, νόσφιν λευκωλένου Ἥρης·

ἦστο γὰρ ἐν μεγάροισιν Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο.

μούνῃ δ' οὐκ ἐπέπυστο μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια·

ἦστο γὰρ ἄκρῳ Ὀλύμπῳ ὑπὸ χρυσείοισι νέφεσιν

Ἥρης φραδμοσύνης λευκωλένου, ἥ μιν ἔρυκεν

100 ζηλοσύνηι, ὃ τ' ἄρ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε

Δητῶ τέξεσθαι καλλιπλόκαμος τότε ἔμελλεν.

αἱ δ' Ἴριν προύπεμψαν εὐκτιμένης ἀπὸ νήσου

ἀξέμεν Εἰλείθυιαν, ὑποσχόμεναι μέγαν ὄρμον

χρυσείοισι λίνοισιν ἐερμένον, ἐννεάπηχυν·

105 νόσφιν δ' ἥνωγον καλέειν λευκωλένου Ἥρης,

μή μιν ἔπειτ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀποστρέψειεν ἰοῦσαν.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις,

βῆ ῥα θέειν, ταχέως δὲ διήνυσε πᾶν τὸ μεσηγύ.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἵκανε θεῶν ἔδος αἰπὺν Ὀλυμπον,

110 αὐτίκ' ἄρ' Εἰλείθυιαν ἀπὸ μεγάροιο θύραζε

ἐκπροκαλεσσαμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα

πάντα μάλ' ὥς ἐπέτελλον Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσιν·

τῇ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔπειθεν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν,

βὰν δὲ ποσὶ τρήρῳσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι.

115 εὐτ' ἐπὶ Δήλῳ ἔβαινε μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια,

### 3. TO APOLLO

ever be here, and he will honor you above all others.”

When she had sworn and completed the oath, Delos rejoiced over the birth of lord Far-shooter, while Leto for nine days and nine nights was pierced by unutterable birth pangs. All the goddesses of highest degree were in with her: Dione, Rhea, Themis of Ichnai, and loud-groaning Amphitrite, and the other goddesses apart from white-armed Hera, for she was seated in the halls of Zeus the cloud-gatherer. The only one who had not learned of it was the goddess of birth labor, Eileithyia, for she was seated atop Olympus under golden clouds by the designs of white-armed Hera, who was holding her back out of jealousy, because lovely-haired Leto was about to give birth to a fine strong son.

The others sent Iris off from the well-cultivated island to fetch Eileithyia, promising her a great necklace strung with golden threads, nine cubits long; and they told her to summon her without reference to white-armed Hera, in case she should call her back. When windfoot-swift Iris heard that, she went off at a run, and quickly crossed the whole intervening space. Arriving at the gods' seat, steep Olympus, she at once called Eileithyia out from the hall and spoke to her winged words, all that the Olympian goddesses had instructed her, and persuaded her heart within her breast; and they went forth, stepping like anxious doves.

Once the goddess of birth labor, Eileithyia, was on

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91 ἀέπτοις Wackernagel: ἀέλπτοις Ω

93 ἔασι Wolf: ἔσαν Ω 96 om. Ma

99 φραδμοσύνης M: -νη Ψ

104 ἐεργμένον Barnes: ἐεργμένον Ω

- τὴν τότε δὴ τόκος εἶλε, μενοίνησεν δὲ τεκέσθαι.  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ φοίνικι βάλε πῆχεε, γούνα δ' ἔρεισεν  
 λειμῶνι μαλακῶι, μείδησε δὲ γαῖ' ὑπένερθεν·  
 ἐκ δ' ἔθορε πρὸ φόωσδε, θεαὶ δ' ὀλόλυξαν ἅπασαι.  
 120 ἔνθα σέ, ἥϊε Φοῖβε, θεαὶ λόον ὕδατι καλῶι  
 ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, σπάρξαν δ' ἐν φάρει λευκῶι  
 λεπτῶι νηγατέωι· περὶ δὲ χρύσειον στρόφον ἦκαν.  
 οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα θήσατο μήτηρ,  
 ἀλλὰ Θέμις νέκταρ τε καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινήν  
 125 ἀθανάτησιν χερσὶν ἐπήρξατο· χαῖρε δὲ Λητώ.  
 {οὐνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερόν νιδὸν ἔτικτεν.}  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ, Φοῖβε, κατέβρωσ ἀμβροτον εἶδαρ,  
 οὐ σέ γ' ἔπειτ' ἰσχον χρύσειοι στρόφοι ἀσπαίροντα  
 οὐδ' ἔτι δέσματ' ἔρυκε, λύνοντο δὲ πείρατα πάντα.  
 130 αὐτίκα δ' ἀθανάτησι μετηύδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·  
 “εἵη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα,  
 χρήσω τ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν.”  
 ὥς εἰπὼν ἐβίβασκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης  
 Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης ἑκατηβόλος· αἱ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι  
 135 θάμβεον ἀθάναται· χρυσῶι δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἅπασα  
 βεβρίθει, καθορῶσα Διὸς Λητοῦς τε γενέθλην,  
 γηθοσύνηι ὅτι μιν θεὸς εἴλετο οἰκία θέσθαι  
 νήσων ἡπείρου τε, φίλησε δὲ κηρόθι μάλλον.  
 ἦνθησ', ὥς ὅτε τε ρῖον οὐρεὸς ἀνθεσιν ὕλης.

126 (= 13) del. Matthiae

133 ἐπὶ Matthiae: ἀπὸ Ω

136-8 praebet y: om. MΨ

### 3. TO APOLLO

Delos, Leto was seized with birthing and strove to be delivered. She clasped her arms round the palm tree, and braced her knees against the soft meadow grass, and the earth beneath her smiled; out he sprang into the light, and all the goddesses gave a yell.<sup>15</sup> There they washed you in clear water, Eïan<sup>16</sup> Phoibos, in pure and holy fashion, wrapped you in a white cloth, fine-woven and unsullied(?), and tied a golden cord round it. Apollo of the golden sword was not breast-fed by his mother: Themis served him nectar and lovely ambrosia with her immortal hands, and Leto rejoiced {at having borne a powerful archer son}.

Once you had eaten the divine food, Phoibos, then the golden cords no longer restrained your wriggling, the fastenings no longer held you back, but all the ties came undone. At once Phoibos Apollo spoke among the goddesses: "I want the lyre and the crooked bow as my things. And I shall prophesy Zeus' unerring will to humankind."

So saying, he began to walk on the broad-wayed earth as Phoibos the far-shooter of unshorn locks. All the goddesses looked on in wonder, and all Delos<sup>17</sup> was laden with golden growth as it beheld the offspring of Zeus and Leto, in joy that the god had chosen her to make his home out of all the islands and mainland, and had given her his affection from the heart.

<sup>15</sup> A ritual cry of emotional release uttered by women at the climax of a sacrifice or otherwise when the presence of divinity is manifested.

<sup>16</sup> Adjective formed from the ritual shout "Ē!" or "Iē!"

<sup>17</sup> Two alternative versions of the text are transmitted for the remainder of this sentence. The other reads: "blossomed with gold, as when a mountain slope blossoms with wild flowers."

- 140 αὐτὸς δ', ἀργυρότοξε ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον,  
 ἄλλοτε μὲν τ' ἐπὶ Κύνθου ἐβήσαο παιπαλόεντος,  
 ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἡλάσκαζες.  
 πολλοί τοι νηοὶ τε καὶ ἄλσεα δεινδρήεντα,  
 πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τε φίλαι καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι
- 145 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοὶ θ' ἄλαδε προρέοντες·  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεις ἦτορ,  
 ἔνθά τοι ἐλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἡγερέθονται  
 αὐτοῖς σὺν παιδείεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἄγνιαν·  
 οἳ δέ σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηστῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
- 150 μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.  
 φαίη κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι ἀνὴρ,  
 ὃς τότε ἐπαντιάσει, ὅτ' Ἰάονες ἀθρόοι εἶεν·  
 πάντων γάρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμόν  
 ἀνδράς τ' εἰσορόων καλλιζώνους τε γυναῖκας
- 155 νῆάς τ' ὠκείας ἥδ' αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλά.  
 πρὸς δὲ τόδε μέγα θαῦμα, ὅου κλέος οὐ ποτ'  
 ὀλεῖται,  
 κοῦραι Δηλιάδες Ἑκατηβελέταο θεράπναι·  
 αἳ τ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ' πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπόλλων' ὑμνήσωσιν,  
 αὖτις δ' αὖ Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
- 160 μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἥδὲ γυναικῶν  
 ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν, θέλγουσι δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων.  
 πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ βαμβαλιαστὺν  
 μιμείσθ' ἴσασιν· φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος  
 φθέγγεσθ'· οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή.
- 165 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,



### 3. TO APOLLO

You yourself, lord Silverbow, far-shooting Apollo, went sometimes on rugged Cynthus, and sometimes you roamed the islands and the world of men. Many are your temples and wooded groves, and all the peaks find favor with you, and the upper ridges of the high mountains, and the rivers flowing on to the sea. But it is in Delos, Phoibos, that your heart most delights, where the Ionians with trailing robes assemble with their children and wives on your avenue, and when they have seated the gathering they think of you and entertain you with boxing, dancing, and singing. A man might think they were the unaging immortals if he came along then when the Ionians are all together: he would take in the beauty of the whole scene, and be delighted at the spectacle of the men and the fair-girt women, the swift ships and the people's piles of belongings. And besides, this great wonder, the fame of which will never perish: the Maidens of Delos, the servants of the Far-shooter, who, after first hymning Apollo, and then in turn Leto and Artemis profuse of arrows, turn their thoughts to the men and women of old and sing a song that charms the peoples. They know how to mimic all people's voices and their babble; anyone might think it was he himself speaking, so well is their singing constructed.

But now, may Apollo be favorable, together with Arte-

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148 αὐτοῖς σὺν Ω: σὺν σφοῖσιν Thuc. 3.104      γυναιξί τε  
σὴν ἐς ἄγνιαν Thuc.: καὶ αἰδοίησι ἀλόχοισιν Ω

149 οἱ δέ Ω: ἔνθα Thuc.      ὀρχηστνὶ Thuc.: ὀρχηθμῶι Ω

150 καθέσωσιν Thuc.: στήσονται Ω

151 ἀθάνατος M      ἀνὴρ fx: αἰεὶ Mρ

162 βαμβαλιαστὸν γ: κρεμβ- MΨ

165 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι Thuc.: ἀλλὰ γε (δὴ) Λητῶ Ω



- χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε  
 μνήσασθ', ὅππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ξείνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών·  
 “ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὕμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν  
 170 ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέωι τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;”  
 ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως·  
 “τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίωι ἐνι παιπαλοέσσηι  
 τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν ἀοιδαί.”  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμέτερον κλέος οἴσομεν, ὅσσον ἐπ' αἶαν  
 175 ἀνθρώπων στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας·  
 οἳ δ' ἐπὶ δὴ πείσονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτήτυμόν ἐστιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα  
 ὕμνων ἀργυρότοξον, ὃν ἡὔκομος τέκε Λητώ.  
 ὦ ἄνα, καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Μηιονίην ἐρατεινὴν  
 180 καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις ἔναλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν,  
 αὐτὸς δ' αὖ Δήλοιο περικλύστου μέγ' ἀνάσσεις·  
 εἷσι δὲ φορμίζων Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος νιός  
 φόρμιγγι γλαφυρῇ πρὸς Πυθῶ πετρήεσσαν,  
 ἄμβροτα εἶματ' ἔχων τεθνωμένα· τοιοῦ δὲ φόρμιγξ  
 185 χρυσέου ὑπὸ πλήκτρον καναχὴν ἔχει ἱμερόεσσαν.  
 ἔνθεν δὲ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὥς τε νόημα  
 εἷσι Διὸς πρὸς δῶμα θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγυριν ἄλλων·  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἀθανάτοισι μέλει κίθαρις καὶ ἀοιδή.  
 Μοῦσαι μὲν θ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ  
 190 ὕμνεουσὶν ῥά θεῶν δῶρ' ἄμβροτα ἡδ' ἀνθρώπων  
 τλημοσύνας, ὅσ' ἔχοντες ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν  
 ζῶουσ' ἀφραδέες καὶ ἀμήχανοι, οὐδὲ δύνανται

### 3. TO APOLLO

mis, and hail, all you Maidens! Think of me in future, if ever some long-suffering stranger comes here and asks, "O Maidens, which is your favorite singer who visits here, and who do you enjoy most?" Then you must all answer with one voice(?), "It is a blind man, and he lives in rocky Chios; all of his songs remain supreme afterwards."<sup>18</sup> And we will carry your reputation wherever we go as we roam the well-ordered cities of men, and they will believe it, because it is true. And myself, I shall not cease from hymning the far-shooter Apollo of the silver bow, whom lovely-haired Leto bore.

O Lord, Lycia too is yours, and lovely Lydia, and Miletus the beautiful town by the sea; and you again, none other, are the great lord of wave-washed Delos; and playing on his scooped-out lyre glorious Leto's son goes also to rocky Pytho, his divine garments scented, while his lyre under the golden plectrum makes a delightful clangor. From there he goes up from earth to Olympus, swift as thought, to the house of Zeus, to join the congregation of the other gods; and at once the immortals devote themselves to lyre music and song. The Muses, responding all together with lovely voice, sing of the gods' divine gifts and of human sufferings—all that they have from the immortal gods and yet live witless and helpless, unable to find a rem-

<sup>18</sup> On this passage see the Introduction.

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168 ξείνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθὼν Ω: ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν Thuc.

171 ἀφήμωσ Thuc.: ἀφ' ἡμέων Mfb, ἀφ' ὑμέων a, ἀφ' ὑμῶν p

181 περικλύστου M: -ης Ψ

184 τεθνωμένα Barnes: τεθνώδεα Ω

- εὔρέμεναι θανάτοιο τ' ἄκος καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐϋπλόκαμοι Χάριτες καὶ ἐϋφρονες ὦραι  
 195 Ἄρμονίη θ' Ἥβη τε Διὸς θυγάτηρ τ' Ἀφροδίτη  
 ὀρχέοντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῶι χεῖρας ἔχουσαι  
 τῆισι μὲν οὐτ' αἰσχυρὴ μεταμέλεται οὐτ' ἐλάχεια,  
 ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη τε ἰδεῖν καὶ εἶδος ἀγῆτῃ  
 Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι·  
 200 ἐν δ' αὖ τῆισιν Ἄρης καὶ ἐϋσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης  
 παίζουσ'· αὐτὰρ ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐγκιθαρίζει  
 καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς, αἵγλη δέ μιν ἀμφιφαίνει  
 μαρμαρυγαί τε ποδῶν καὶ ἐκκλώστοιο χιτῶνος.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπιτέρπονται θυμὸν μέγαν εἰσορόωντες  
 205 Λητώ τε χρυσοπλόκαμος καὶ μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 υἷα φίλον παίζοντα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.  
 πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω, πάντως εὖνυμον ἔοντα;  
 ἥέ σ' ἐνὶ μνηστῆσιν αἰείδω καὶ φιλότῃτι,  
 ὅπως μνωόμενος ἔκies Ἀζαντίδα κούρην  
 210 Ἴσχν' ἅμ' ἀντιθέωι Ἐλατιονίδῃ εὐίππῳ;  
 †ἢ ἅμα Φόρβαντι Τριόπῳ γένος, ἢ ἅμ' Ἐρευθεῖ,  
 ἢ ἅμα Λευκίππῳ καὶ Λευκίπποιο δάμαρτι  
 πεζός, ὃ δ' ἵπποισιν; οὐ μὴν Τριόπός γ' ἐνέλειπεν.†  
 ἢ ὥς τὸ πρῶτον χρηστήριον ἀνθρώποισιν  
 215 ζητεύων κατὰ γαῖαν ἔβης, ἐκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλων;  
 Πιερίην μὲν πρῶτον ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο κατῆλθες·

198 ἀγῆτῃ Ψ: ἀγανῇ M

209 ὅπως Wolf, μνωόμενος Martin: ὀππός' ἀνωόμενος Ψ,  
 ὀππόταν ἰέμενος M

### 3. TO APOLLO

edy for death or a defence against old age. The lovely-haired Graces and the cheerful Horai, and Harmonia, Hebe, and Zeus' daughter Aphrodite, dance, holding each other's wrists; among them performs one neither plain nor short of stature, but tall and fair to behold, Artemis profuse of arrows, fellow nursling of Apollo. Among them also Ares and the keen-sighted Argus-slayer sport; while he, Phoibos Apollo, plays his lyre in the middle, stepping fine and high, and splendor shines about him, and the flashing of his feet and his tunic of quality thread. Leto of the golden locks and resourceful Zeus are delighted in their great hearts as they watch their dear son sporting among the immortal gods.

How shall I hymn you, fit subject as you are in every respect? Shall I sing of you as a wooer and lover, of how you went to court the Azantid maid<sup>19</sup> in rivalry with god-like Ischys, Elatos' cavalier son, or with Phorbas born of Triopas, or with Ereutheus, or with Leucippus and Leucippus' wife, you on foot and he on chariot—and he did not fall behind Triops?<sup>20</sup> Or of how you first went over the earth, far-shooting Apollo, in search of a place for your oracle for humankind?

To Pieria first you came down from Olympus; you

<sup>19</sup> Coronis, who gave birth to Asclepius. See Hymn 16.

<sup>20</sup> These lines are deeply obscure. Phorbas the son of Triopas is elsewhere mentioned as a youth whom Apollo loved.

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211 Τριόπειω Ilgen: τριοπῶ M, τριόπω Ψ (τριοπώ *b* marg.)  
 ἄμ' ἐρευθεῖ Ψ (ἀμαρύνθω *b* marg.): ἄμ' ἐρεχθεῖ M

- Λέκτον τ' ἡμαθόεντα παρέστιχες ἡδ' Αἰνιῆνας  
καὶ διὰ Περραιβούς· τάχα δ' εἰς Ἴωλκὸν ἵκανες,  
Κηναίου τ' ἐπέβης ναυσικλειτῆς Εὐβοίης·
- 220 στῆς δ' ἐπὶ Ληλάντῳ πεδίῳ, τό τοι οὐχ ἄδε θυμῷ  
τεύξασθαι νηὸν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα.  
ἔνθεν δ' Εὐριπον διαβάς, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον,  
βῆς ἀν' ὄρος ζάθεον Χλωρόν· τάχα δ' ἵξες ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ  
ἐς Μυκαλησσὸν ἰὼν καὶ Τευμησσὸν λεχεποῖν.
- 225 Θήβης δ' εἰσαφίκανες ἔδος καταειμένον ὕλην·  
οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἔναιε βροτῶν ἱερῇ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ,  
οὐδ' ἄρα πω τότε γ' ἦσαν ἀταρπιτοὶ οὐδὲ κέλευθοι  
Θήβης ἅμ πεδίον πυρηφόρον, ἀλλ' ἔχεν ὕλην.  
ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρῳ ἔκιες, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον,  
230 Ὀγχηστὸν δ' ἵξες, Ποσιδῆϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος·  
ἔνθα νεοδμῆς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενός περ  
ἔλκων ἄρματα καλά, χαμαὶ δ' ἐλατῆρ ἀγαθός περ  
ἐκ δίφροιο θορῶν ὁδὸν ἔρχεται· οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν  
κεῖν' ὄχρα κροτέουσιν ἀνακτορίην ἀφιέντες.
- 235 εἰ δέ κεν ἄρματ' ἀγῆσιν ἐν ἄλσεϊ δενδρήεντι,  
ἵππους μὲν κομέουσι, τὰ δὲ κλίναντες ἐῶσιν·  
ὥς γὰρ τὰ πρῶτισθ' ὁσίη γένεθ'· οἱ δὲ ἀνακτι  
εὗχονται, δίφρον δὲ θεοῦ τότε μοῖρα φυλάσσει.  
ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρῳ ἔκιες, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον·
- 240 Κηφισὸν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα κιχήσαο καλλιρέεθρον,  
ὅς τε Λιλαίηθεν προχέει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ·  
τὸν διαβάς, Ἐκάεργε, καὶ Ὠκαλήν πολὺπυρον

### 3. TO APOLLO

passed by sandy Lektos, and the Aenianes, and through the Perrhaebians. Soon you reached Iolcus, and landed on Kenaion in Euboea famed for shipping, and stood on the Lelantine Plain; but it did not find favor with you for making your temple and wooded groves. From there you crossed the Euripus, far-shooting Apollo, and stepped upon the holy Green Mountain. From that you quickly reached Mycalessus and grassy Teumessus, and arrived at the site of Thebes, which was cloaked in vegetation, for no mortal yet dwelt in holy Thebes and there were not yet any paths or roads crossing the wheat-bearing Theban plain, but it was occupied by wild growth.

From there you went on, far-shooting Apollo, and reached Onchestus, Poseidon's bright grove, where the new-broken colt takes breath from the burden of pulling a fine chariot: the driver, good as he is, jumps down from the car and walks, while they continue to rattle the empty vehicle along, having discarded their master. If the chariot gets smashed in the wooded grove, they take care of the horses but tip the chariot down and leave it; for so the rule was established in the beginning. They pray to the deity, and the chariot is kept as the god's property.

From there you went on, far-shooting Apollo, and you next reached the fair streams of the Cephissus, which sends its fair-flowing water forth from Lilaia. You crossed it, Far-shooter, and Ocalea rich in wheat, and from there

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217 Ἡμαθίην τε Matthiae ἡδ' Αἰνιήνας Fick: ἡδ' ἀγνιήνας  
 M: ἡ μαγνιήνας γ: ἡ μαγνηίδας Ψ  
 227 τότε fr: ποτε Mx 228 ὕλη Barnes: ὕλην Ω  
 233 οἱ δὲ p: οὐδὲ Mfx  
 242 πολύπυρον Barnes: -πυργον Ω

- ἔνθεν ἄρ' εἰς Ἀλῖαρτον ἀφίκεο ποιήεντα.  
 βῆς δ' ἐπὶ Τελφούσης· τόθι τοι ἄδε χῶρος ἀπήμων  
 245 τεύξασθαι νηόν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δεινδρήεντα.  
 στῆς δὲ μάλ' ἄγχ' αὐτῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπες·  
 “Τελφοῦς, ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω περικαλλέα νηόν  
 ἀνθρώπων τεύξαι χρηστήριον, οἳ τέ μοι αἰεὶ  
 πολλοὶ ἀγινήσουσι τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας,  
 250 ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πίειραν ἔχουσιν  
 ἡδ' ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτας κατὰ νήσους,  
 χρησόμενοι· τοῖσιν δέ κ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλήν  
 πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πίοι νηῶι.”  
 ὥς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμείλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
 255 εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές· ἡ δ' ἐσιδοῦσα  
 Τελφοῦσα κραδίην ἐχολώσατο εἰπέ τε μῦθον·  
 “Φοῖβε ἄναξ ἐκάεργε, ἔπος τί τοι ἐν φρεσὶ θήσω,  
 ἐνθάδ' ἐπεὶ φρονέεις τεύξαι περικαλλέα νηόν  
 ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον, οἳ δέ τοι αἰεὶ  
 260 ἐνθάδ' ἀγινήσουσι τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας·  
 ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆμισιν·  
 πημανέει σ' αἰεὶ κτύπος ἵππων ὠκειῶν  
 ἀρδόμενοί τ' οὐρήες ἐμῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ πηγέων·  
 ἐνθά τις ἀνθρώπων βουλήσεται εἰσοράασθαι  
 265 ἄρματά τ' εὐποίητα καὶ ὠκνπόδων κτύπον ἵππων  
 ἢ νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ κτήματα πόλλ' ἐνεόντα.  
 ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τι πίθοιο (σὺν δὲ κρέσσων καὶ ἀρείων  
 ἐσσι ἄναξ ἐμέθεν, σέο δὲ σθένος ἐστὶ μέγιστον)·  
 ἐν Κρίσῃ ποιήσαι, ὑπὸ πτυχὶ Παρνησσοῖο.  
 270 ἐνθ' οὐθ' ἄρματα καλὰ δονήσεται, οὔτε τοι ἵππων



### 3. TO APOLLO

you arrived at grassy Haliartus. And you approached Telpousa: there the innocuous site found favor with you for making your temple and wooded groves. You stood up close to her and spoke to her:

“Telpousa, here I am minded to make my beautiful temple as an oracle for humankind, who will ever come in crowds bringing me perfect hecatombs, both those who live in the fertile Peloponnese and those who live in the Mainland and the seagirt islands, wishing to consult me; and I would dispense unerring counsel to them all, issuing oracles in my rich temple.”

So saying, Phoibos Apollo laid out his foundations in broad and very long, unbroken lines. Telpousa, looking on, grew angry and said:

“Phoibos, far-shooting lord, I am going to say something for you to take to heart, as it is here you are minded to make your beautiful temple as an oracle for humankind, who will ever come in crowds bringing you perfect hecatombs. I will speak out, and you must take it to heart. You will always be bothered by the clatter of racehorses, and of mules being watered from my divine springs; here people will want to gaze at well-built chariots and the clatter of racing horses, rather than at a big temple with a mass of wealth inside it. No, if you would take my advice (of course you are nobler and more powerful than I, lord, and your strength is supreme), make it at Crisa, in the hollow of Parnassus: there there will be no noise of chariots or clatter

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249 πολλοὶ M: ἐνθάδ' (= 260, 289) Ψ

251 ἀμφιρύτας Ψ: -τους M

252 κ' Ilgen: τ' Ω



ὠκυπόδων κτύπος ἔσται εὐδμητον περὶ βωμόν.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς προσάγοιεν Ἰηπαιήονι δῶρα  
 ἀνθρώπων κλυτὰ φύλα, σὺ δὲ φρένας ἀμφὶ γεγηθῶς  
 δέξαι· ἱερὰ καλὰ περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων.”

- 275 ὥς εἰποῦς· Ἑκάτου πέπιθε φρένας, ὄφρα οἱ αὐτῇ  
 Τελφούσῃ κλέος εἴη ἐπὶ χθονί, μηδ' Ἑκάτοιο.  
 ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω ἔκies, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλον,  
 ἱξες δ' ἐς Φλεγύων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν ὑβριστᾶων,  
 οἱ Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάασκον  
 280 ἐν καλῇ βήσσηι Κηφισίδος ἐγγύθι λίμνης.  
 ἔνθεν καρπαλίμως προσέβης πρὸς δειράδα θνίων,  
 ἵκεο δ' ἐς Κρίσην ὑπὸ Παρνησσὸν νιφόεντα,  
 κνημὸν πρὸς Ζέφυρον τετραμμένον, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν  
 πέτρη ἐπικρέμαται, κοίλῃ δ' ὑποδέδρομε βῆσσα  
 285 τρηχεῖ· ἔνθα ἄναξ τεκμήρατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
 νηὸν ποιήσασθαι ἐπήρατον, εἶπέ τε μῦθον·

- “ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω τεύξαι περικαλλέα νηὸν  
 ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον, οἳ τέ μοι αἰεὶ  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγινήσουσι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας,  
 290 ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πείραιν ἔχουσιν,  
 ἡδ' ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτας κατὰ νήσους,  
 χρησόμενοι τοῖσιν δ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν  
 πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πίνονι νηῶι.”

- ὥς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμείλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
 295 εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
 λαῖνον οὐδὸν ἔθηκε Τροφώνιος ἡδ' Ἀγαμήδης,  
 νιέες Ἐργίνου, φίλοι ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν·  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ νηὸν ἔνασσαν ἀθέσφατα φύλ' ἀνθρώπων

### 3. TO APOLLO

of racing horses round your well-built altar, but just the same the thronging peoples would bring their gifts for Ie-Paieon, and your heart would be glad as you received the fine offerings from the surrounding peoples."

So saying she persuaded the Far-shooter, intending that renown in the land should be her own, Telphousa's, and not his. From there you went on, far-shooting Apollo, and reached the community of the Phlegyes, ruffians who lived there disregarding Zeus, in a pretty valley near the Cephisus Marshes. From there you rushed speedily on up towards the ridge, and you arrived at Crisa, under snowy Parnassus, a west-facing spur with the cliff hanging over it and a hollow, rugged glen extending below. There the lord Phoibos Apollo decided to make his lovely temple, and he said:

"Here I am minded to make my beautiful temple as an oracle for humankind, who will ever come in crowds bringing me perfect hecatombs, both those who live in the fertile Peloponnese and those who live in the Mainland and the seagirt islands, wishing to consult me; and I would dispense unerring counsel to them all, issuing oracles in my rich temple."

So saying, Phoibos Apollo laid out his foundations in broad and very long, unbroken lines. Upon them Trophonios and Agamedes, the sons of Erginus, favorites of the immortal gods, laid a stone floor; and about it the teem-

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272 καὶ Ψ: τοι M

287 τεύξαι Abel: τεύξειν Ω

291 ἀμφιρύτας Barnes: -τους Ω

295 μακρὰ διαμπερές Ψ: καλὰ διηνεκές M

- κτιστοῖσιν λάεσσιν, αἰοίδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰεί.  
 300 ἀγχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλλίρροος, ἔνθα δράκαιναν  
 κτείνειν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀπὸ κρατεροῖο βιοῖο  
 ζατρεφέα μεγάλην, τέρας ἄγριον, ἥ κακὰ πολλὰ  
 ἀνθρώπους ἔρδεσκεν ἐπὶ χθονί, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτούς,  
 πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ταναῦποδ', ἐπεὶ πέλε πῆμα  
 δαφουνόν.  
 305 καὶ ποτε δεξαμένη χρυσοθρόνου ἔτρεφεν Ἥρης  
 δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε Τυφάονα πῆμα βροτοῖσιν,  
 ὃν ποτ' ἄρ' Ἥρη ἔτικτε χολωσαμένη Διὶ πατρί,  
 εὖτ' ἄρα δὴ Κρονίδης ἐρικυδέα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην  
 ἐκ κορυφῆς. ἥ δ' αἰψα χολώσατο πότνια Ἥρη,  
 310 ἥδὲ καὶ ἀγρομένοισι μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν·  
 “κέκλυτέ μεο, πάντές τε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιнай,  
 ὥς ἔμ' ἀτιμάζειν ἄρχει νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς  
 πρῶτος, ἐπεὶ μ' ἄλοχον ποιήσατο κέδν' εἰδυῖαν,  
 καὶ νῦν νόσφιν ἐμείο τέκε γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην,  
 315 ἥ πᾶσιν μακάρεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν·  
 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἠπεδανὸς γέγονεν μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν  
 παῖς ἐμὸς Ἥφαιστος ῥικνὸς πόδας, ὃν τέκον αὐτή.  
 <τὸν μὲν . . . . .>  
 ῥῖψ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἐλοῦσα καὶ ἔμβalon εὐρέϊ πόντῳ  
 ἀλλὰ ἐ Νηρῆος θυγάτηρ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα  
 320 δέξατο καὶ μετὰ ἦισι κασιγνήτησι κόμισσεν·  
 ὥς ὄφελ' ἄλλο θεοῖσι χαρίσασθαι μακάρεσσιν.  
 σχέτλιε, ποικιλομῆτα, τί νῦν μητίσσαι ἄλλο;  
 πῶς ἔτλης οἶος τεκέειν γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην;  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τεκόμην; καὶ σὴ κεκλημένη ἔμπησ

### 3. TO APOLLO

ing peoples built the temple with blocks set in place, to be a theme of song for ever.

Nearby is the fair-flowing spring where the lord, the son of Zeus, shot the serpent from his mighty bow, a great bloated creature, a fierce prodigy that caused much harm to people in the land—much to them, and much to their long-shanked flocks, for she was a bloody affliction.

And once she accepted for nurture from gold-throned Hera the dreadful and problematic Typhaon to be an affliction to mortals; Hera once bore him in anger at father Zeus, when he gave birth to glorious Athena out of his head. She, lady Hera, at once grew angry, and spoke among the assembled immortals:

“Hear from me, all you gods and all you goddesses, how Zeus the cloud-gatherer is taking steps to dishonor me, without provocation. For he made me his wife—a dutiful one—and now he has given birth without me to steely-eyed Athena, who stands out among all the blessed immortals, while my son has turned out a weakling among the gods, Hephaestus of the withered legs, whom I myself bore. I picked him up and threw him in the broad sea, but Nereus’ daughter, Thetis silverfoot, took him in and looked after him together with her sisters; I wish she had done the gods some different service. You cunning wretch, what will you devise next? How could you bring yourself to father steely-eyed Athena on your own? Couldn’t I have given birth to her? She would still have been called your child

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309 ἐκ κορυφῆς rec.: ἐν κορυφῇ Ω

post 317 lac. stat. Chalcondyles

322 μητίσσαι M: μήσσαι fx, ἔτι μήσσαι p

323 γλαυκῶπιν Abel: γλαυκώπιδ’ Ω

- 325 ἦ<ν ἄρ' ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν οἱ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν.  
 325a φράζεο νῦν, μή τοί τι κακὸν μητίσομ' ὀπίσσω.  
 καὶ νῦν μέν τοι ἐγὼ τεχνήσομαι ὥς κε γένηται  
 παῖς ἐμός, ὅς κε θεοῖσι μεταπρέποι ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 οὔτε σὸν αἰσχύνασ' ἱερὸν λέχος οὔτ' ἐμὸν αὐτῆς·  
 οὐδέ τοι εἰς εὐνὴν πωλήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σείο  
 330 τηλόθ' ἐοῦσα θεοῖσι μετέσσομαι ἀθανάτοισιν.”  
 ὥς εἰποῦς' ἀπονόσφι θεῶν κίε χωμένη κῆρ.  
 αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἠράτο βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,  
 χειρὶ καταπρηνεί δ' ἔλασε χθόνα καὶ φάτο μῦθον·  
 “κέκλυτε νῦν μοι, Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεν  
 335 Τιτῆνές τε θεοί, τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν  
 Τάρταρον ἀμφὶ μέγαν, τῶν ἔξ ἄνδρες τε θεοί τε  
 αὐτοὶ νῦν μεο πάντες ἀκούσατε, καὶ δότε παῖδα  
 νόσφι Διός, μηδέν τι βίην ἐπιδευέα κείνου,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε φέρτερος εἴη, ὅσον Κρόνου εὐρύοπα  
 Ζεύς.”  
 340 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἵμασε χθόνα χειρὶ παχείῃ,  
 κινήθη δ' ἄρα γαῖα φερέσβιος· ἥ δὲ ἰδοῦσα  
 τέρπετο ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, οἶετο γὰρ τελέεσθαι.  
 ἐκ τούτου δῆπεια τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν  
 οὔτε ποτ' εἰς εὐνὴν Διὸς ἦλυθε μητιόεντος  
 345 οὔτε ποτ' ἐς θῶκον πολυδαίδαλον, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ  
 αὐτῷ ἐφεζομένη πυκινὰς φραζέσκετο βουλὰς·  
 ἀλλ' ἦ γ' ἐν νηοῖσι πολυλλίστοισι μένουσα  
 τέρπετο οἷς ἱεροῖσι βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελέοντο

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among the immortals who dwell in the broad heaven. Mind I don't devise some harm for you sometime. And right now I am going to contrive to have a son who may stand out among the immortal gods, without disgracing your holy bed or my own. I won't visit your bed, but stay well away from you and keep company with the immortal gods."

So saying, she went apart from the gods, angry at heart. Then straightway she prayed, did the mild-eyed lady Hera, and struck the earth with the flat of her hand and said, "Hear me now, Earth and broad Heaven above, and you Titan gods who dwell below the earth around great Tartarus, and from whom gods and men descend: all of you now in person, hear me and grant me a son without Zeus' help, in no way falling short of him in strength, but as much superior as wide-sounding Zeus is to Kronos."

So saying, she beat the ground with her stout hand, and the life-giving earth shifted. When she saw that, her heart was delighted, for she guessed that her prayer would be fulfilled. From then on for a full year she never went to resourceful Zeus' bed, nor to the richly carved throne, as in the past sitting at his side she used to consider her counsels. She stayed in her prayerful temples, did the mild-eyed lady Hera, enjoying the offerings made to her. But when the months and the days were fulfilled as the year

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325 ἦν ἄρ' Chalcondyles: ἦ ῥ' fere Ω

325a praebet y: om. MΨ 330 τηλόθ' ἐοῦσα Hermann:

τηλόθεν οὔσα Ω 331 κῆρ Barnes: περ Ω

335 ναιετάουσιν Ilgen: ναιέοντες Ω

339 εἶη ὅσον Hermann: ἐστὶν ὅσον M: ἦ πόσσον Ψ  
(παρόσον p) 349 μῆνές M: νύκτες Ψ

- 350 ἄψ περιτελλομένου ἔτεος καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὦραι,  
ἧ δ' ἔτεκ' οὔτε θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον οὔτε βροτοῖσιν,  
δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε Τυφάονα, πῆμα θεοῖσιν.  
αὐτίκα τόν γε λαβοῦσα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη  
δῶκεν ἔπειτα φέρουσα κακῶι κακόν, ἧ δ' ὑπέδεκτο.
- 355 ἧ κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκε κατὰ κλυτὰ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων·  
ὅς τῃ γ' ἀντιάσειε, φέρεσκέ μιν αἷσιμον ἦμαρ,  
πρίν γέ οἱ ἰὸν ἐφῆκεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
καρτερόν· ἧ δ' ὀδύνῃσιν ἐρεχθομένη χαλεπήσιν  
κεῖτο μέγ' ἀσθμαίνουσα, κυλινδομένη κατὰ χῶρον.
- 360 θεσπεσίῃ δ' ἐνοπῇ γένετ' ἄσπετος· ἧ δὲ καθ' ὕλην  
πυκνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσεται, λείπε δὲ θυμόν,  
φοινὸν ἀποπνεύουσ'. ὃ δ' ἐπηύξατο Φοῖβος  
Ἀπόλλων·  
“ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν πύθε' ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτιανείρῃ·  
οὐδὲ σύ γ' ἐν ζωῖσι κακὸν δῆλημα βροτοῖσιν  
365 ἔσσεαι, οἷ γαίης πολυφόρβου καρπὸν ἔδοντες  
ἐνθάδ' ἀγινήσουσι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας,  
οὐδέ τί τοι θάνατόν γε δυσηλεγέ' οὔτε Τυφωεύς  
ἀρκέσει οὐδὲ Χίμαιρα δυσώνυμος, ἀλλὰ σέ γ' αὐτοῦ  
πύσει γαῖα μέλαινα καὶ ἡλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων.”
- 370 ὥς φάτ' ἐπευχόμενος, τὴν δὲ σκότος ὅσσε  
κάλυψεν.  
τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ κατέπυσ' ἱερὸν μένος Ἥελίοιο·  
ἐξ οὗ νῦν Πυθῶ κικλήσκεται, οἷ δὲ ἄνακτα

### 3. TO APOLLO

came round again, and the seasons came on, she gave birth to one resembling neither gods nor mortals, the dreadful and problematic Typhaon, to be an affliction to the gods. At once the mild-eyed lady Hera picked him up and took him and gave the one bane to the other;<sup>21</sup> and she accepted him.

She used to do much harm to the teeming peoples— whoever encountered her was carried off by his day of doom—until the far-shooting lord Apollo discharged his powerful arrow at her. Racked by sore pain she lay, loudly gasping, rolling about the place; an extraordinary hissing arose without measure, as she kept writhing this way and that among the trees, and quit her spirit with bloody exhalations. Phoibos Apollo exulted over her:

“Now rot away here on the earth that feeds mankind! You will not be an evil bane among the living to the mortals who will eat the fruits of the nurturing soil and bring perfect hecatombs here. Neither Typhoeus nor the accursed Chimaera will save you from grisly death, but you will be rotted away here by the dark earth and the blazing sun.”

So he exulted, while darkness covered her eyes. And there the sun’s divine force rotted her down; hence the place is now called Pytho,<sup>22</sup> and the people give the god the

<sup>21</sup> That is, to the serpent at Delphi, to which the narrative now returns.

<sup>22</sup> The verb for ‘to rot’ being *pytho*.

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352 θεοῖσιν M: βροτοῖσιν Ψ

353 τόν γε West: τόνδε Ω

355 ἦ Wolf: ὅς Ω

364 γ’ ἐν West: γε Ω



Πύθιον <αὖ> καλέουσιν ἐπώνυμον, οὔνεκα κείθι  
αὐτοῦ πῦσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος Ἡελίοιο.

375 καὶ τότε ἄρ' ἔγνω ἦισιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ Φοῖβος

Ἀπόλλων,

οὔνεκά μιν κρήνη καλλίρροος ἐξαπάφησεν·  
βῆ δ' ἐπὶ Τελφούσῃ κεχολωμένος, αἶψα δ' ἵκανεν·  
στῇ δὲ μάλ' ἄγχ' αὐτῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
“Τελφούσ', οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες ἐμὸν νόον ἐξαπαφούσα  
380 χῶρον ἔχουσ' ἐρατὸν προρέειν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ.  
ἐνθάδε δὴ καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος ἔσσεται, οὐδὲ σὸν οἴης.”

ἦ, καὶ ἐπὶ ρίον ὤσεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
πέτρηισι προχυτήισιν, ἀπέκρυψεν δὲ ῥέεθρα,  
καὶ βωμὸν ποιήσατ' ἐν ἄλσει δενδρήεντι

385 ἄγχι μάλα κρήνης καλλιρρόου· ἐνθα δ' ἄνακτι  
πάντες ἐπὶ κλησιν Τελφουσίῳ εὐχετόωνται,  
οὔνεκα Τελφούσης ἱερῆς ἦισχυνε ῥέεθρα.

καὶ τότε δὴ κατὰ θυμὸν ἐφράζετο Φοῖβος

Ἀπόλλων,

οὓς τινες ἀνθρώπους ὀργήονας εἰσαγάγοιτο,

390 οἱ θεραπεύσονται Πυθοῖ ἐνὶ πετρηέσσηι.

ταῦτ' ἄρα ὀρμαίνων ἐνόησ' ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ  
νῆα θοήν· ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ἔσαν πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοί,  
Κρήτες ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ Μινωῖου, οἳ ρά τ' ἄνακτι  
ἱερά τε ῥέζουσι καὶ ἀγγέλλουσι θέμιστας

395 Φοῖβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου, ὅττι κεν εἴπηι  
χρέων ἐκ δάφνης γυάλων ὑπο Παρνησσοῖο.

οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πρῆξιν καὶ χρήματα νηῖ μελαίνῃ  
ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα Πυλοιγενέας τ' ἀνθρώπους

### 3. TO APOLLO

title Pythios, because it was just there that the keen sun's force rotted the monster away.

Then Phoibos Apollo realized that the (other) fair-flowing spring had tricked him. He set off for Telphousa in anger, and soon he was there. He stood up close to her and spoke to her: "Telphousa, you were not after all going to get away with tricking me and keeping your lovely place to pour forth your fair water. I too am going to be renowned here, not you alone." So saying, the far-shooting lord Apollo overturned a crag onto her in an avalanche of rocks, and covered up her waters. And he made himself an altar in a wooded grove close to the fair-flowing spring; there everyone prays to the lord under the title Telphousios, because he disfigured holy Telphousa's streams.

Then Phoibos Apollo started to consider what men he should bring in as ministers to serve him at rocky Pytho. While he was pondering this, he noticed a swift ship on the wine-faced sea, and in it were many fine men, Cretans from Cnossos the city of Minos, the ones who perform sacrifices for the god, and who announce the rulings of Phoibos Apollo of the golden sword, whatever he says when he gives his oracles from the bay tree down in the glens of Parnassus. They were sailing on business in their dark ship towards sandy Pylos and Pylos' folk. But he,

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373 αὖ add. West

391 ἐνὶ West: ἐπὶ Ω

398 (et 424) Πυλοειγένας Fick: πύληγ- Ω

- 400 ἔπλεον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι συνήνετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
 ἐν πόντῳ δ' ἐπόρουσε δέμας δελφῖνι ἐοικώς  
 νηὶ θοῇ, καὶ κείτο πέλωρ μέγα τε δεινόν τε·  
 τῶν δ' ὅς τις κατὰ θυμὸν ἐπιφράσσαιτο †νοῆσαι,  
 πάντοσ' ἀνασσεύσασκε, τίναςσε δὲ νῆϊα δοῦρα.  
 οἱ δ' ἀκέων ἐνὶ νηὶ καθείατο δειμαίνοντες,  
 405 οὐδ' οἳ γ' ὄπλ' ἔλουν κοίλῃν ἀνὰ νῆα μέλαιναν,  
 οὐδ' ἔλουν λαῖφος νηὸς κυανοπρώριοιο,  
 ἀλλ' ὥς τὰ πρόωιστα κατεστήσαντο βοεῦσιν,  
 ὥς ἔπλεον· κραιπνὸς δὲ Νότος κατόπισθεν ἔπειγεν  
 νῆα θοήν. πρῶτον δὲ παρημέιβοντο Μάλειαν,  
 410 πὰρ δὲ Λακωνίδα γαῖαν ἀλίστэфανον πτολίεθρον  
 ἱξον καὶ χῶρον τερψιμβρότον Ἥελιοιο  
 Ταῖναρον, ἔνθά τε μῆλα βαθύτριχα βόσκεται αἰεὶ  
 Ἥελιοιο ἄνακτος, ἔχει δ' ἐπιτερπέα χῶρον.  
 οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἔνθ' ἔθελον νῆα σχεῖν ἢδ' ἀποβάντες  
 415 φράσσασθαι μέγα θαῦμα καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ιδέσθαι,  
 εἰ μενέει νηὸς γλαφυρῆς δαπέδοισι πέλωρον,  
 ἢ εἰς οἶδμ' ἄλιον πολυῖχθον ἀμφὶς ὀρούσει·  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πηδαλίοισιν ἐπείθετο νηὺς εὐεργής,  
 ἀλλὰ πάρεκ Πελοπόννησον πίειραν ἔχουσα  
 420 ἦϊ' ὁδόν· πνοιῇ δὲ ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
 ῥῆϊδίως ἴθυν'. ἦ δὲ πρήσσουσα κέλευθον  
 Ἀρήνην ἵκανε καὶ Ἀργυφένην ἐρατεινήν  
 καὶ Θρύον, Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον, καὶ ἑὺκτιτον Αἰπύ  
 καὶ Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα Πυλοιογενέας τ' ἀνθρώπους·  
 425 βῆ δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ παρὰ  
 Δύμην

### 3. TO APOLLO

Phoibos Apollo, intercepted them, and out at sea he leaped onto the swift ship in the likeness of a dolphin, and lay there, a huge and fearsome beast. If any of them took it in mind to (touch him?), he would toss him off in any direction, shaking the ship's timbers. So they sat quiet in the ship in terror; they did not slacken the sheets along the hollow ship, or slacken the sail of the dark-prowed craft, but as they had originally rigged it, so they sailed on, with a brisk southerly speeding the vessel from astern. First they passed Cape Malea, and along the Laconian coast they reached that sea-garlanded town and place sacred to the Sun god who delights mortals, Taenarum, where the lord Helios' fleecy sheep ever graze in a lovely place.

They wanted to halt the ship there and disembark to consider the wondrous creature, and see whether the beast would stay on the deck of the hollow ship or plunge off into the salt swell that teems with fish. But the well-built craft would not obey the rudder, but continued to hold its course past the rich Peloponnese; the far-shooting lord Apollo was steering it effortlessly with his breath. Journeying on, it reached Arene and lovely Argyrhea, Thryon where the Alpheios is forded and well-cultivated Aipy, and sandy Pylos and Pylos' folk; it went past the Krounoi and Chalcis and past Dyme, and past fair Elis,

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408 ἔπειγε Ruhnkenius: ἔγειρε Ω

ἦδὲ παρ' Ἥλιδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἑπειοί.

εὖτε Φεὰς ἐπέβαλλεν ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς οὖρῳ,  
καὶ σφιν ὕπεκ νεφέων Ἰθάκης τ' ὄρος αἰπὺ πέφαντο  
Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος·

430 ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πελοπόννησον παρενίστατο πᾶσαν,  
καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ Κρίσης κατεφαίνετο κόλπος ἀπείρων,  
ὅς τε διῆκ Πελοπόννησον πείραιν ἐέργει,  
ἦλθ' ἄνεμος Ζέφυρος μέγας αἶθριος ἐκ Διὸς αἴσης  
λάβρος ἐπαιγίζων ἐξ αἰθέρος, ὅφρα τάχιστα  
435 νηὺς ἀνύσειε θεόουσα θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.  
ἄψορρον δῆπειτα πρὸς ἧῳ τ' ἠέλιόν τε  
ἔπλεον, ἠγεμόνευε δ' ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων·  
ἶξον δ' ἐς Κρίσιν εὐδείελον ἀμπελόεσσιν  
ἐς λιμέν', ἣ δ' ἀμάθοισιν ἐχρίμψατο ποντοπόρος  
νηὺς.

440 ἔνθ' ἐκ νηὸς ὄρουσεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος μέσῳ ἡματι· τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ πολλαί  
σπινθαρίδες πωτῶντο, σέλας δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκεν·  
ἐς δ' ἄδυτον κατέδυσε διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων.  
ἔνθ' ἄρ' ὃ γε φλόγα δαΐε πιφασκόμενος τὰ ἀ  
κῆλα,

445 πᾶσαν δὲ Κρίσιν κάτεχεν σέλας· αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν  
Κρισαίων ἄλοχοι καλλίζωνοί τε θύγατρες  
Φοῖβον ὑπὸ ριπῆς· μέγα γὰρ δέος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστωι.  
ἔνθεν δ' αὖτ' ἐπὶ νῆα νόημ' ὥς ἄλτο πέτεσθαι,  
ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος αἰζήῳ τε κρατερῳ τε  
450 πρωθήβηι, χαίτης εἰλυμένος εὐρέας ὤμους,  
καὶ σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

### 3. TO APOLLO

where the Epeians rule.

As it headed for Pheia, exulting in the divine tailwind, from under the clouds there appeared to them Ithaca's steep mountain, Doulichion and Same and wooded Zacynthus. But when it had rounded the whole of the Peloponnese, and the vast gulf leading to Crisa came into view, that cuts through the rich Peloponnese and divides it off, there came a strong clearing westerly through Zeus' dispensation, rushing furious in from the sky to make the ship cross the briny sea with all speed. So then they sailed back eastwards, guided by the son of Zeus, lord Apollo; and they came to Crisa with its sunny vine slopes, into the harbor, and the seagoing ship grounded on the sands.

There the far-shooting lord Apollo darted off the ship, looking like a star in broad daylight, with countless sparks flying off him, and the brilliance was heaven-high. He disappeared into the sanctum through the precious tripods, and there he lit a flame to manifest his divine force. The whole of Crisa was filled with the radiance, and the Crisaeans' wives and fair-girt daughters yelled aloud under Phoibos' impulse, for he had put terror into everyone. From there again he flew back to the ship, fast as thought, in the likeness of a sturdy yeoman in his first prime, his hair falling over his broad shoulders, and he addressed them in winged words:

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427 Φεᾶς Eberhard: φερὰς Ψ, φέρας M

431 ἐπὶ M: ἐπεὶ Ψ

444 ἔνθ' Hermann: ἐν δ' Ω

447 ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω M: εἶλεν ἑκάστον Ψ

“ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλείθ' ὕγρα κέλευθα;  
 ἢ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν, ἦ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε  
 οἷά τε ληϊστήρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλα, τοί τ' ἀλόωνται  
 455 ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι, κακὸν ἀλλοδοποῖσι φέρουντες;  
 τίφθ' οὕτως ἦσθον τετιηότες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν  
 ἔκβητ', οὐδὲ καθ' ὅπλα μελαίνης νηὸς ἔθεςθε;  
 αὕτη μὲν γε δίκη πέλει ἀνδρῶν ἀλφυστάων,  
 ὁππότε' ἂν ἐκ πόντοιο ποτὶ χθονὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
 460 ἔλθωσιν καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες, αὐτίκα δέ σφεας  
 σίτοιο γλυκεροῖο περὶ φρένας ἵμερος αἰρεῖ.”

ὥς φάτο, καὶ σφιν θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἔθηκεν.  
 τὸν καὶ ἀμειβόμενος Κρητῶν ἀγὸς ἀντίον ἠΰδα·  
 “ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητοῖσιν ἔοικας,  
 465 οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,  
 οὐδέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν.  
 καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὅφρ' εὖ εἶδω·  
 τίς δῆμος; τίς γαῖα; τίνες βροτοὶ ἐγγεγάασιν;  
 ἄλλῃ γὰρ φρονέοντες ἐπεπλέομεν μέγα λαῖτμα  
 470 ἐς Πύλον ἐκ Κρήτης, ἔνθεν γένος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι·  
 νῦν δ' ὧδε ξὺν νηὶ κατήλθομεν οὐ τι ἐκόντες,  
 νόστου ἰέμενοι, ἄλλῃν ὁδόν, ἄλλα κέλευθα,  
 ἀλλὰ τις ἀθανάτων δεῦρ' ἤγαγεν οὐκ ἐθέλοντας.”  
 τοὺς δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη ἐκάεργος  
 Ἀπόλλων·

475 “ξεῖνοι, τοὶ Κνωσὸν πολυδένδρεον ἀμφινέμεσθε  
 τὸ πρίν, ἀτὰρ νῦν οὐκέθ' ὑπότροποι αὐτίς ἔσεσθε  
 ἔς τε πόλιν ἐρατὴν καὶ δώματα καλὰ ἕκαστος  
 ἔς τε φίλας ἀλόχους, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε πίονα νηὸν

### 3. TO APOLLO

“Who are you, sirs? From where do you sail the watery ways? Are you on business, or roaming at random over the sea as freebooters do, who gamble their lives abroad to bring trouble to other folk? Why do you sit so downcast without disembarking or stowing your ship’s tackle? That’s the usual way of civilized men when they reach land in their dark ship, weary with effort, and their hearts are at once seized with appetite for sweet food.”

So he spoke, giving them confidence. The leader of the Cretans answered him: “Sir, as you don’t seem at all like a mortal in body and stature, but like the immortal gods, I bid you all hail, and may the gods grant you blessings. Now tell me this for truth so that I can be sure: what folk is this, what country? What people are native here? You see, we were sailing the main with a different purpose, to Pylos from Crete, which is where we declare ourselves to originate from, but now we have landed here without meaning to, when we were seeking safe passage, by another course, other ways; some god has brought us here without us wishing it.”

The far-shooter Apollo answered them: “Sirs, who dwelt in wooded Cnossos before, now you will return no more to your lovely city and your fine individual homes and your dear wives: you will occupy my rich temple here,



- ἔξετ' ἐμὸν πολλοῖσι τετιμένον ἀνθρώποισιν.  
 480 εἶμι δ' ἐγὼ Διὸς υἱός, Ἀπόλλων δ' εὖχομαι εἶναι,  
 ὑμέας δ' ἡγαγον ἐνθάδ' ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα  
 θαλάσσης  
 οὐ τι κακὰ φρονέων, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε πίονα νηὸν  
 ἔξετ' ἐμὸν πᾶσιν μάλα τίμιον ἀνθρώποισιν,  
 βουλὰς τ' ἀθανάτων εἰδήσετε· τῶν ἰότητι  
 485 αἰεὶ τιμήσεσθε διαμπερές ἡματα πάντα.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πείθεσθε τάχιστα·  
 ἰστία μὲν πρῶτον κάθετον λύσαντε βοῆας,  
 νῆα δ' ἔπειτα μέλαιναν ἐπ' ἠπείρου ἐρύσασθε,  
 ἐκ δὲ κτήμαθ' ἔλεσθε καὶ ἔντεα νηὸς ἔϊσης,  
 490 καὶ βωμὸν ποιήσατ' ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης·  
 πῦρ <δ> ἐπικαίοντες ἐπὶ τ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ θύοντες  
 εὐχεσθαι δῆπεια παριστάμενοι περὶ βωμόν.  
 ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἡεροειδέϊ πόντῳ  
 εἰδόμενος δελφῖνι θεῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ὄρουσα,  
 495 ὥς ἐμοὶ εὐχεσθαι Δελφινίῳ· αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμός  
 αὐτὸς Δέλφειος καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.  
 δειπνήσαί τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα θεῇ παρὰ νηὶ μελαίνῃ,  
 καὶ σπείσαι μακάρεσσι θεοῖς οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν σίτοιο μελίφρονος ἐξ ἔρον ἦσθε,  
 500 ἔρχεσθαι θ' ἄμ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἱηπαίηον' αἰεῖδεν,  
 εἰς ὃ κε χῶρον ἵκησθον, ἵν' ἔξετε πίονα νηόν."  
 ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἦδ'  
 ἐπίθοντο.  
 ἰστία μὲν πρῶτον κάθεσαν, λύσαν δὲ βοῆας,  
 ἰστὸν δ' ἰστοδόκῃ πέλασαν προτόνοισιν ὑφέντες,

### 3. TO APOLLO

which is widely honored by men. For I am Zeus' son, I declare myself Apollo; and I brought you here over the mighty main not with any ill intent, but you are to occupy my rich temple here, which is greatly honored by all men, and you shall know the gods' intentions. By their will you shall be held in honor for all time. But come, do as I tell you without delay. First slacken the sheets and lower the sails, and then haul the dark ship up on land, take out your belongings and the ship's tackle, and build an altar on the seashore. Light a fire on it, offer white barley groats on it, and then stand round the altar and pray. Even as I originally leapt onto your ship in the misty sea in the form of a dolphin, so you are to pray to me as 'the Dolphin god,'<sup>23</sup> and the altar itself will be 'Delphian,' and a permanent landmark. Then have your meal beside your swift dark ship, and make libation to the blessed gods in Olympus. And when you have satisfied your appetite for delicious food, come with me, singing *Ie Paieon*, till you arrive at the place where you will occupy the rich temple."

So he spoke, and they readily hearkened to him and did as he said. First they slackened the sheets and lowered the sails, and brought the mast down to its rest by paying out

<sup>23</sup> A common cult title of Apollo.

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479 *τετιμένοι* Hermann

487 (et 503) *βοῆας* Buttmann: *βοείας* Ω

488 *μέλαιναν* (Il. 1.485) Matthiae: *θοῆν* Ω

491 δ' add. Ilgen

- 505 ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνον ἐπὶ ῥήγμῳι θαλάσσης,  
 ἐκ δ' ἄλως ἠπειρόνδε θοὴν ἀνὰ νῆ' ἐρύσαντο  
 ὑψοῦ ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις, παρὰ δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ  
 τάνυσσαν,  
 καὶ βωμὸν ποίησαν ἐπὶ ῥήγμῳι θαλάσσης·  
 πῦρ δ' ἐπικαίοντες ἐπὶ τ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ θύοντες
- 510 ἡῤ'χονθ' ὥς ἐκέλευε παριστάμενοι περὶ βωμόν.  
 δόρπον ἔπειθ' εἵλοντο θοῇ παρὰ νηϊ μελαίνῃ,  
 καὶ σπείσαν μακάρεσσι θεοῖς οἳ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 βάν ῥ' ἔμεν· ἦρχε δ' ἄρά σφιν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς  
 Ἀπόλλων
- 515 φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων, ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων,  
 καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς· οἳ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἔποντο  
 Κρήτες πρὸς Πυθῶ καὶ ἰηπαιήον' αἶειδον,  
 οἰοί τε Κρητῶν παιήνες, οἰσί τε Μοῦσα  
 ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔθηκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν.
- 520 ἄκμητοι δὲ λόφον προσέβαν ποσίν, αἶψα δ'  
 ἵκοντο  
 Παρνησσὸν καὶ χῶρον ἐπήρατον, ἔνθ' ἄρ' ἔμελλεν  
 οἰκῆσειν πολλοῖσι τετιμένος ἀνθρώποισιν·  
 δείξε δ' ἄγων ἄδυτον ζάθεον καὶ πίονα νηόν.  
 τῶν δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν·
- 525 τὸν καὶ ἀνειρόμενος Κρητῶν ἀγὸς ἀντίον ἠῦδα·  
 “ὦ ἄν', ἐπεὶ δὴ τῇλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἵης  
 ἠγάγες· οὕτω που τῷ σῶι φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ·  
 πῶς καὶ νῦν βώμεσθα; τό σε φράζεσθαι ἄνωγμεν.  
 οὔτε τρυγηφόρος ἦδε γ' ἐπήρατος οὔτ' εὐλείμων,

### 3. TO APOLLO

the forestays. They themselves disembarked onto the sea-shore, and from the water they hauled the swift ship up on land, high up the beach, and set a long line of props along its sides. They built an altar on the seashore, lit a fire on it, offered white barley groats on it, and then stood round the altar and prayed, according to his instructions. Then they had their meal beside their swift dark ship, and made libation to the blessed gods in Olympus. And when they had satisfied their appetite for food and drink, they set off, and Zeus' son, lord Apollo, led the way with his lyre in his hands, playing delightfully, stepping fine and high, while the Cretans followed to Pytho, dancing in time, and singing *Ie Paieon*—like the paeans of the Cretans in whose breasts the Muse has placed honey-voiced singing.

Unwearied, they climbed the hill, and soon arrived at Parnassus and the lovely place where he was to dwell, widely honored by men. He led them and showed them the holy sanctum and the rich temple, and their hearts were stirred within them. The leader of the Cretans turned to him and asked:

“Lord, as you have brought us far from our dear ones and our native land—so it must have pleased your heart—how are we going to feed ourselves now? That's what we want you to consider. This land is not attractive as a bearer

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510 *περὶ* rec. in marg.: *παρὰ* Ω

515 *ἐρατὸν* M: *ατὸν* x, *ἀγατὸν* f, *χρυσῆν* p: *χαρίεν* Ath. 22c

521–2 *ἐμελλον . . . τετιμένοι* Pierson

523 *ἄδυτον* *ζάθεον* y: *αὐτοῦ* *δάπεδον* MΨ

528 *βώμεσθα* Janko: *βιόμεσθα* Ω

- 530 ὥς τ' ἀπό τε ζώειν καὶ ἄμ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀπηδεῖν."  
 τοὺς δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων·  
 “νήπιοι ἄνθρωποι, δυστλήμονες, οἳ μελεδῶνας  
 βούλεσθ' ἀργαλέους τε πόνους καὶ στεῖνεα θυμῶι  
 ῥῆϊδιον ἔπος ὕμν' ἐρέω καὶ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήσω.  
 535 δεξιτερῇ μάλ' ἕκαστος ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μάχαιραν  
 σφάζειν αἰεὶ μῆλα· τὰ δ' ἄφθονα πάντα παρέσται,  
 ὅσσα κ' ἐμοὶ ἀγάγωσι περικλυτὰ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων.  
 νηὸν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων· καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθὺν τε μάλιστα  
 . . . . .  
 540 ἥε τι τηῦσιον ἔπος ἔσσεται ἥε τι ἔργον  
 ὕβρις θ', ἣ θέμις ἐστὶ καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 ἄλλοι ἔπειθ' ὕμιν σημάντορες ἄνδρες ἔσονται,  
 τῶν ὑπ' ἀναγκαίῃ δεδμήσεσθ' ἤματα πάντα.  
 εἴρηταί τοι πάντα, σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ σῆσι φύλαξαι.”  
 545 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς νιέ·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

#### 4. ΕΙΣ ΕΡΜΗΝ

- Ἑρμῆν ὕμναι, Μοῦσα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν,  
 Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πολυμήλου,  
 ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον, ὃν τέκε Μαῖα  
 νύμφη εὐπλόκαμος Διὸς ἐν φιλότῃ μιγείσα  
 5 αἰδοίη· μακάρων δὲ θεῶν ἡλεύαθ' ὄμιλον  
 ἄντρον ἔσω ναίονσα παλίσκιον, ἔνθα Κρονίων  
 νύμφῃ εὐπλοκάμῳ μισγέσκετο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶι,

### 3. TO APOLLO

of harvest, nor rich in grassland, so as for us to live off it and serve the public at the same time."

Zeus' son Apollo smiled at them and said, "O foolish men of misplaced suffering, who want anxiety, hard toil, and heartache! I will give you a simple answer to bear in mind. Each of you must just keep a knife in his right hand and keep slaughtering sheep: they will be available in abundance, as many as the thronging peoples bring for me. Watch over my temple, and welcome the peoples as they gather here, and <regard> my will above all and <my . . . But if on your part> anything wanton is said or done, any insolence, as is the manner of mortal folk, then you shall have other men as your masters, under whose compulsion you will be subjugated for ever. You have your instructions; it is for you to remember them."

So I salute you, son of Zeus and Leto. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

### 4. TO HERMES

Sing of Hermes, Muse, the son of Zeus and Maia, the lord of Cyllene and Arcadia rich in flocks, the immortals' coursing messenger, whom Maia bore, that nymph of lovely tresses, in shared intimacy with Zeus; modest one, who shunned the company of the blessed gods, dwelling within a cave's shadow. There the son of Kronos used to unite with the nymph of lovely tresses in the depth of the night, so

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530 τ€ Cobet: τ' εὖ Ω

537 κ' ἐμοὶ West: ἐμοί κ' Ω

post 539 lac. stat. Wolf

- ὄφρα κατὰ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἔχοι λευκώλενον Ἥρην,  
 λήθων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους.  
 10 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μέγαλοιο Διὸς νόος ἐξετελεῖτο,  
 τῇ δ' ἤδη δέκατος μείς οὐρανῶι ἐστήρικτο,  
 ἔς τε φόως ἄγαγεν, ἀρίσχημά τε ἔργα τέτυκτο.  
 καὶ τότ' ἐγείνατο παῖδα πολύτροπον, αἰμυλομήτην,  
 ληϊστῆρ', ἐλατῆρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων,  
 15 νυκτὸς ὀπωπητῆρα, πυληδόκον, ὃς τάχ' ἔμελλεν  
 ἀμφανέειν κλυτὰ ἔργα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν·  
 ἡῶιος γεγονὼς μέσσω ἥματι ἐγκιθάριζεν,  
 ἐσπέριος βοῦς κλέψεν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 τετράδι τῇ προτέρῃ, τῇ μιν τέκε πότνια Μαῖα.  
 20 ὃς καὶ ἐπεὶ δὴ μητρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων θόρε γύνειν,  
 οὐκέτι δηρὸν ἔκειτο μένων ἱερῶι ἐνὶ λίκνῳ,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἀναΐξας ζήτει βόας Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 οὐδὸν ὑπερβαίνων ὑψηρεφέος ἄντροιο.  
 ἔνθα χέλυν εὐρὼν ἐκτήσατο μυρίον ὄλβον·  
 25 Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα χέλυν τεκτήνατ' αἰοιδόν·  
 ἥ ρά οἱ ἀντεβόλησεν ἐπ' αὐλείησι θύρησιν  
 βοσκομένη προπάρειθε δόμων ἐριθιλέα ποίην,  
 σαῦλα ποσὶν βαίνουσα. Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος υἱὸς  
 ἀθρήσας ἐγέλασσε καὶ αὐτίκα μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 30 “σύμβολον ἤδη μοι μέγ' ὀνήσιμον, οὐκ ὀνοτάζω.  
 χαῖρε, φνὴν ἐρόεσσα, χοροῖτύπε δαιτὸς ἐταίρη,  
 ἀσπασίῃ προφανείσα. πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα,  
 αἰόλον ὄστρακον ἔσσο, χέλυς ὄρεσι ζώνουσα;  
 ἀλλ' οἶσω σ' ἐς δῶμα λαβών· ὄφελός τί μοι ἔσσην,  
 35 οὐδ' ἀπατιμήσω· σὺ δ' ἐμὲ πρώτιστον ὀνήσεις.

long as sweet sleep held white-armed Hera fast, and neither immortal gods nor mortal men knew of it. And when great Zeus' purpose came to fulfilment, and her tenth moon was set in the sky, she brought forth, and notable things came to pass. And she gave birth to a son resourceful and cunning, a robber, a rustler of cattle, a bringer of dreams, a night watcher, a gate-lurker, who was soon to display deeds of renown among the immortal gods: born in the morning, by midday he was playing the lyre, and in the evening he stole the cattle of far-shooting Apollo—on the fourth of the month, the day the lady Maia bore him.

Once he had sprung from his mother's immortal legs, he did not stay long lying in his holy cradle, but jumped up and started to look for Apollo's cattle, crossing the threshold of the high-roofed cave. There he found a tortoise, and so gained a priceless treasure: Hermes it was who first crafted the singing tortoise.<sup>24</sup> He encountered it at the yard entrance as it grazed on the lush grass in front of the dwelling, sidling along on its legs. Zeus' courser son laughed when he saw it, and said at once:

"Here's a portent of good fortune for me, I don't mind this! Hello, my lovely, my dance-beat dinner companion, welcome apparition! Where did you get this fine plaything, this blotchy shell that you wear, you tortoise living in the mountains? I shall take you indoors; you will be of some use to me, and I shan't undervalue you, I shall be the very

<sup>24</sup> The lyre; *chelys* denotes both the tortoise and the lyre made from its shell.

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33 ἔσσο Matthiae: ἐσσὶ ὦ

35 ἀπατιμήσω Matthiae: ἀποτ- ὦ



οἴκοι βέλτερον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφιν.  
ἦ γὰρ ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἔσσειαι ἔχμα  
ζώουσ'· ἦν δὲ θάνηις, τότε <δ'> ἂν μάλα καλὸν  
αἰείδοις."

- ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη· καὶ χερσὶν ἅμ' ἀμφοτέρησιν αἰείρας  
40 αἴψ' εἴσω κίε δῶμα φέρων ἐρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα.  
ἐνθ' ἀναμηλώσας γλυφάνωι πολιοῖο σιδήρου  
αἰῶν' ἐξετόρησεν ὀρεσκώϊοιο χελώνης.  
ὥς δ' ὁπότε ὠκὺ νόημα διὰ στέρνοιο περήσῃ  
ἀνέρος ὃν τε θαμειναὶ ἐπιστρωφῶσι μέριμναι,  
45 ἦ' ὅτε δινηθῶσιν ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμαρνγαί,  
ὥς ἅμ' ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐμήδετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς.  
πῆξε δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέτροισι ταμῶν δόνακας καλάμοιο,  
πειρήνας διὰ νῶτα λιθορρίνοιο χελώνης·  
ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα τάνυσσε βοὸς πραπίδεσσιν ἐῆισιν,  
50 καὶ πῆχυσ ἐνέθηκ', ἐπὶ δὲ ζυγὸν ἥραρεν ἀμφοῖν,  
ἐπτα δὲ συμφώνους οὔων ἐτανύσσατο χορδὰς.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεύξε, φέρων ἐρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα  
πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέλος, ἦ δ' ὑπὸ χειρός  
σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν αἶειδεν  
55 ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίας πειρώμενος, ἥντε κούροι  
ἦβηται θάλιήσιν παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν,  
ἀμφὶ Δία Κρονίδην καὶ Μαιάδα καλλιπέδιλον,  
ὥς πάρος ὠρίζεσκον ἑταιρείῃ φιλότῃτι,  
ἦν τ' αὐτοῦ γενεὴν ὀνομάκλυτον ἐξονομάζων·

37 ἔχμα Ruhnkenius: αἰχμα M, αἰχμὰ Ψ

38 δ' add. Matthiae

first to profit from you. 'Better to be in the house, it's dangerous outside.'<sup>25</sup> For you will be a check against baneful visitation while you live, and if you die, then you may be a beautiful singer."

So he spoke, and picking it up in both hands he went back inside the dwelling, carrying the lovely plaything. There he probed with a chisel of grey iron and gouged out the life-stuff of the mountain-couching tortoise. And as when a sudden notion passes through the breast of a man who is constantly visited by thoughts, or when sparkling glances spin from someone's eyes, so glorious Hermes made his action as quick as his word. Cutting reed stalks to measure, he fixed them in, piercing the back of the stony-hided tortoise. Over them he cleverly stretched oxhide; he attached two arms, and fastened a crossbar on them, and stretched out seven sheep-gut strings to sound in concord. When he had made it, he carried the lovely plaything and tried it out with a plectrum in a tuned scale, and it rang out impressively under his hand. The god sang beautifully to it, impromptu, experimentally, as young men at dinners make ribald interjections: (he sang) about Zeus son of Kronos and fair-shod Maia, how they used to talk love in companionable intimacy, and declaring his own renowned

<sup>25</sup> A humorous quotation of Hesiod, *Works and Days* 365.

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41 ἀναμηλώσας Ruhnkenius: ἀναπηλήσας Ω

44 θαμιναι Wackernagel: θαμιναι Ω

48 λιθορρίνοιο Pierson: δια ῥινοῖο Ω

51 συμφώνους Ω: θηλυτέρων Antig. Mir. 7

53 μέλος (cf. 419, 501) Allen: μέρος Ω

58 ὥς rec. in marg.: ὄν Ω

60 ἀμφιπόλους τ' ἐγέραιρε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δώματα νύμφης  
καὶ τρίποδας κατὰ οἶκον ἐπηετανούς τε λέβητας.

καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν ἤειδε, τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοίνα·  
καὶ τὴν μὲν κατέθηκε φέρων ἱερῶι ἐνὶ λίκνῳ  
φόρμιγγα γλαφυρὴν, ὃ δ' ἄρα κρειῶν ἐρατίζων  
65 ἄλτο κατὰ σκοπιὴν εὐώδεος ἐκ μεγάρῳ,  
ὀρμαίνων δόλον αἰπὺν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, οἷά τε φῶτες  
φιληταὶ διέπονσι μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ.

Ἡέλιος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς Ὠκεανόνδε  
αὐτοῖσιν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν, αὐτὰρ ἄρ' Ἑρμῆς  
70 Πιερίης ἀφίκανε θεῶν ὄρεα σκιοέεντα,  
ἔνθα θεῶν μακάρων βόες ἄμβροτοι αὐλιν ἔχουσιν,  
βοσκόμεναι λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους ἐρατεινούς·  
τῶν τότε Μαιάδος υἱὸς εὐσκοπὸς Ἀργειφόντης  
πεντήκοντ' ἀγέλης ἀπετάμνετο βούς ἐριμύκους.  
75 πληνοδίας δ' ἤλαυνε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον  
ἵχνι' ἀποστρέψας, δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης,  
ἀντία ποιήσας ὀπλάς, τὰς πρόσθεν ὀπισθεν,  
τὰς δ' ὀπιθεν πρόσθεν, κατὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν αὐτὸς  
ἔβαινε.

σάνδαλα δ' αὐτίκα ῥυψὶν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἀλίησιν  
80 ἄφραστ' ἠδ' ἀνόητα διέπλεκε, θαυματὰ ἔργα,  
συμμίσγων μυρίκας καὶ μυρσινοειδέας ὄζους·  
τῶν τότε συνδήσας νεοθηλέος ἀγκαλὸν ὕλης  
ἀβλαβέως ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο σάνδαλα κούφα  
αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι, τὰ κύδιμος Ἀργειφόντης  
85 ἔσπασε Πιερίηθεν ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεγύνων,  
οἷά τ' ἐπειγόμενος δολιχὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοτροπήσας.

#### 4. TO HERMES

lineage. He also celebrated the servants of the nymph, and her splendid home, the tripods disposed about it and the unending cauldrons.

As he sang of all that, his mind was already on other things. He took the scooped-out lyre and laid it down in his holy cradle. Craving meat, he sprang out from the fragrant mansion to the peak, meditating a piece of sheer trickery such as thieves carry out in the dark nighttime.

The Sun was dipping below the earth towards Ocean with his horses and chariot, when Hermes came running to Pieria's shadowed mountains, where the blessed gods' deathless cows had their stading, grazing the lovely virgin meadows. From them Maia's son, the keen-sighted Argus-slayer, cut fifty lowing cows off from their herd, and drove them by offroad ways, over a sandy region, turning their footprints round, for his skill in deception did not fail him; he turned their hooves opposite ways, fore to back and hinder to front, while he himself walked backwards. At the sands of the coast he at once used wicker to plait sandals beyond description or imagination, wondrous work, combining tamarisk and myrtle twigs. Tying together an armful of their fresh growth, he bound the light sandals securely on his feet, foliage and all, which the glorious Argus-slayer had plucked from Pieria as he prepared his journeying, improvising as one does when hastening on a long journey.

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70 θέων f: θεῶν Mxp

75 πληνοδίας Schneider: πλαν- Ω

76 ἵχνι Hermann: ἵχνη Ω

79 ῥυφὶν Postgate: ἔρυψεν Ω

85 ἀλεγύνων Windisch: ἀλεείνων Ω

86 αὐτοπερεπῆς ὥς yf

τὸν δὲ γέρων ἐνόησε δέμων ἀνθοῦσαν ἀλωήν  
 ἰέμενον πεδίοιενδε δι' Ὀγχηστὸν λεχεποίην.

90 τὸν πρότερος προσέφη Μαΐης ἐρικυδέος υἱός·  
 “ὦ γέρον, ὅς τε φυτὰ σκάπτεις ἐπικαμπύλος  
 ὦμους,

ἧ πολυοινῆσεις, εὖτ' ἂν τάδε πάντα φέρησιν

καί τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν εἶναι καὶ κωφὸς ἀκούσας,  
 καὶ σιγᾶν, ὅτε μή τι καταβλάπτῃ τὸ σὸν αὐτοῦ.”

τόσσον φὰς ἔσσευε βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα.

95 πολλὰ δ' ὄρη σκιοέεντα καὶ αὐλῶνας κελαδαινοὺς  
 καὶ πεδί' ἀνθεμόεντα διήλασε κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς.

ὄρφναίῃ δ' ἐπίκουρος ἐπαύετο δαιμονίῃ νύξ

ἧ πλείων, τάχα δ' ὄρθρος ἐγίνετο δημιοεργός,

ἧ δὲ νέον σκοπιῇν προσεβήσατο δῖα Σελήνη

100 Πάλλαντος θυγάτηρ Μεγαμηδείδαο ἄνακτος·  
 τῆμος ἐπ' Ἀλφειὸν ποταμὸν Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός

Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους,

ἀδμηῆτες δ' ἵκανον ἐς αὐλῖον ὑψιμέλαθρον

καὶ ληνοὺς προπάροιθεν ἀριπρεπέος λειμῶνος.

105 ἔνθ' ἐπεὶ εὖ βοτάνης ἐπεφόρβει βοῦς ἐριμύκους,

καὶ τὰς μὲν συνέλασεν ἐς αὐλῖον ἀθρόας οὔσας,

λωτὸν ἐρεπτομένης ἧδ' ἐρσήεντα κύπειρον,

σὺν δ' ἐφόρει ξύλα πολλά, πυρὸς δ' ἐπεμαίετο

τέχνην.

δάφνης ἀγλαὸν ὄζον ἐλὼν ἐπέλεψε σιδήρῳι

110 ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃ, ἄμπνυτο δὲ θερμὸς αὐτμή·

#### 4. TO HERMES

An old man who was tilling a vineyard in bud saw him as he hurried towards the plain through grassy Onchestus. Glorious Maia's son spoke to him first:

"Old sir with bent shoulders, digging your vines, you will indeed be well in wine when these all bear fruit, <provided you do as I say: keep your own counsel,> and don't see what you've seen, and don't hear what you've heard, and keep silent so long as it isn't harming your own affairs."

Saying no more, he urged on the doughty cattle. Many were the shadowed mountains and echoing valleys and flowered plains that glorious Hermes drove through. His ally, the dark divine night, was coming to an end, the greater part, and soon it would be lightening and arousing people to work; the lady Moon had just reached her height, daughter of Megamedes' son, lord Pallas. Then it was that Zeus' brave son drove Phoibos Apollo's broad-browed cattle to the river Alpheios, and they came, still innocent of the yoke, to the high-roofed steading and the water troughs in front in the magnificent meadow.

There, after he had given the lowing cows a good feed on the vegetation, and driven them together into the steading in a mass, still cropping the clover and dewy galingale, he gathered a lot of wood and essayed the art of fire. He took a fine bay branch and whittled it with a knife, <and twirled it in a hollowed-out piece of ivy wood,> held firmly in his hand, and the heat came blowing up: Hermes it was

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91 lac. stat. Groddeck

94 φὰς ἔσσευε Cobet: φασὶν ἔσσευε Ω

109 lac. stat. Kuhn

- Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα πυρῆϊα πῦρ τ' ἀνέδωκεν.  
πολλὰ δὲ κάγκανα κᾶλα κατουδαίωι ἐνὶ βόθρῳ  
οὔλα λαβὼν ἐπέθηκεν ἐπηετανά· λάμπετο δὲ φλόξ  
τηλόσε φῦσαν ἰεῖσα πυρὸς μέγα δαιομένοιο.
- 115 ὄφρα δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαιε βίη κλυτοῦ Ἥφαιστοιο,  
τόφρα δ' ὑπωροφίας ἔλικας βοῦς εἶλκε θύραζε  
δοιὰς ἄγχι πυρός· δύναμις δέ οἱ ἔπλετο πολλή·  
ἀμφοτέρας δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα χαμαὶ βάλε φυσιώσας,  
ἐγκλίνων δ' ἐκύλινδε δι' αἰῶνας τετορήσας.
- 120 ἔργωι δ' ἔργον ὄπαζε ταμῶν κρέα πίονα δημῶν  
ὥπτα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσι πεπαρμένα δουρατέοισιν,  
σάρκας ὁμοῦ καὶ νῶτα γεράσμια καὶ μέλαν αἶμα  
ἐργμένον ἐν χολάδεσσι· τὰ δ' αὐτοῦ κείτ' ἐπὶ  
χώρης.  
ῥίνους δ' ἐξετάνυσσε καταστυφέλῳ ἐνὶ πέτρῃ,
- 125 ὥς ἔτι νῦν τὰ μέτασσα πολυχρόνιοι πεφύασιν  
δηρὸν δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκριτοι. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
Ἑρμῆς χαρμόφρων εἰρύσσατο πίονα ἔργα  
λείωι ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι, καὶ ἔσχισε δώδεκα μοίρας  
κληροπαλείς· τέλεον δὲ γέρας προσέθηκεν ἐκάστη.
- 130 ἔνθ' ὁσῆς κρεάων ἡράσσατο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς·  
ὁδμὴ γάρ μιν ἔτειρε καὶ ἀθάνατόν περ ἔοντα  
ἡδεῖ· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οἱ ἐπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ  
καὶ τε μάλ' ἰμείροντι περᾶν ἱερῆς κατὰ δειρῆς,  
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐς αὔλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον
- 135 δημὸν καὶ κρέα πολλά, μετήορα δ' αἰψ' ἀνάειρεν,

116 ὑπωροφίας West: ὑποβρυχίας Ω: ἐριβρύχους Barnes



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who first delivered up the firesticks and fire. Many dry, close-grained logs he took and laid on the fire in the sunken pit incessantly, and the flame shone far around as it radiated the blast of the blazing fire. While the force of famed Hephaestus was keeping the fire burning up, he dragged two of the curly-horned cows that were under shelter out towards the fire—his strength was great—and threw them both to the ground on their backs, snorting; and leaning against them, he rolled them over after piercing their spinal cords. Following one job with another, he cut up the meat, rich with fat, and roasted it, fixed on wooden spits, the flesh pieces together with the honorific chins and the dark blood in sausages of tripe; the remaining parts lay there on the ground. The hides he spread out on a rugged rock, as even now in after time they remain long-lasting through the ages in a fused mass. Then Hermes happily drew off the rich cooking from the spits onto a smooth slab, and split it into twelve portions determined by lot, and assigned a fixed rank to each one.<sup>26</sup> Whereupon glorious Hermes craved his own due of meat, for the sweet smell tormented him, immortal though he was. Nevertheless his stout heart did not give way to his longing to let it pass down his holy throat; he put it away in the high-roofed steading, the fat and all the meat, and straightway set it up

<sup>26</sup> This foreshadows the Olympic cult of the Twelve Gods. See the Introduction.

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126 ἄκριτοι West: ἄκριτον Ω      127 χαρμόφρων  
 Stephanus: χαρμοφέρων Ω (χάρμα φέρων ρ)  
 133 περᾶν Barnes: περῆν Μ, πέρην Ψ



σῆμα νέης φωρῆς· ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα κάγκαν' ἀγείρας  
 οὐλόποδ' οὐλοκάρηνα πυρὸς κατεδάμνατ' αὐτμῆι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα κατὰ χρέος ἤνυσε δαίμων,  
 σάνδαλα μὲν προέηκεν ἐς Ἀλφεῖον βαθυδίνην,  
 140 ἀνθρακιὴν δ' ἐμάρανε, κόνιν δ' ἀμάθυνε μέλαιναν  
 παννύχιος· καλὸν δὲ φόως ἐπέλαμπε σελήνης.

Κυλλήνης δ' αἰψ' αὖτις ἀφίκετο διὰ κάρηνα  
 ὄρθριος, οὐδέ τίς οἱ δολιχῆς ὁδοῦ ἀντεβόλησεν  
 οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 145 οὐδὲ κύνες λελάκοντο. Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς  
 δοχμωθεὶς μεγάροιο διὰ κλήϊθρον ἔδυνεν  
 αὔρηι ὀπωρινῇ ἐναλίγκιος, ἥϊτ' ὁμίχλη,  
 ἰθύσας δ' ἄντρου ἐξίκετο πίονα νηόν  
 ἦκα ποσὶ προβιβῶν· οὐ γὰρ κτύπειν ὥς περ ἐπ'  
 οὔδει·

150 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἄρα λίκνον ἐπώιχετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς.  
 σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὥμοις εἰλυμένος ἥϊτε τέκνον  
 νήπιον, ἐν παλάμησι περὶ γυνυσὶ λαῖφος ἀθύρων,  
 κέϊτο, χέλυν ἐρατὴν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χεῖρὸς ἑέργων.  
 μητέρα δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἔληθε θεὰν θεός, εἰπέ τε μῦθον·  
 155 "τίπτε σύ, ποικιλομῆτα, πόθεν τόδε νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ  
 ἔρχηι, ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε; νῦν σε μάλ' οἶω  
 ἦ τάχ' ἀμήχανα δεσμὰ περὶ πλευρῆισιν ἔχοντα  
 Λητοίδου ὑπὸ χερσὶ διέκ προθύροιο περήσειν,  
 ἢ σε φέροντα μεταξὺ κατ' ἄγκεα φιλητεύσειν.

136 φωρῆς Hermann: φωνῆς Ψ (versum om. M) ἀγείρας  
 Ilgen: αείρας Ψ

#### 4. TO HERMES

high as a token of his recent theft. Gathering dry logs, he consumed it in the heat of the fire, hooves, heads, and all. When the god had finished all he had to do, he threw his sandals into the deep-swirling Alpheios, put out the embers, and levelled the dark dust over them for the rest of the night, while the moon's fair light shone down upon him.

In the early twilight he swiftly returned to Cyllene's noble peaks, and no one met him on the long journey, either blessed god or mortal man, and no dogs barked. Zeus' courser Hermes twisted sideways and slipped in through the latchhole of the mansion like an autumn breeze, in the manner of a mist. Heading straight through the cave he reached the rich sanctum, treading softly, making no noise as on a floor; and speedily glorious Hermes had gone to his cradle. With his swaddling cloth wrapped round his shoulders, he lay like a baby, toying with the sheet round his knees, keeping his lovely lyre on his left hand.

His mother did not fail to notice, the goddess the god, and she said, "What are you up to, you sly thing, where have you been in the nighttime, with shamelessness as your cloak? Now I really think that very soon you'll be going out through that porch with your body bound helplessly at Apollo's hands—or else you'll give him the slip when he's in the middle of carrying you through the glens.

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152 *περὶ γυνυσὶ* Forssman: *περιγύνυσι* M, *περ' ἰγνύσι* fx, *παρ' ἰγνύσι* p

155 *τόδε* Wolf: *τάδε* Ω

- 160 ἔρρε πάλιν· μεγάλην σε πατὴρ ἐφύτευσε μέριμναν  
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.”  
 τὴν δ’ Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισιν·  
 “μῆτερ ἐμή, τί με ταῦτα δεδίσκεαι ἢ ὅτε τέκνον  
 νήπιον, ὃς μάλα παῦρα μετὰ φρεσὶν αἴσυλα οἶδεν,  
 165 ταρβαλέον, καὶ μητρὸς ὑπαιδεύδοικεν ἐνιπὰς;  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τέχνης ἐπιβήσομαι ἢ τις ἀρίστη,  
 βουκολέων ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ διαμπερές· οὐδὲ θεοῖσιν  
 νῶϊ μετ’ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀδώρητοι καὶ ἄλιστοι  
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες ἀνεξόμεθ’, ὥς σὺ κελεύεις.  
 170 βέλτερον ἥματα πάντα μετ’ ἀθανάτοισι ὁαρίζειν  
 πλούσιον ἀφνειὸν πολυλήϊον ἢ κατὰ δῶμα  
 ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἡρώεσσι θαασσέμεν· ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆς,  
 κὰγὼ τῆς ὀσίης ἐπιβήσομαι, ἧς περ Ἀπόλλων.  
 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώησι πατὴρ ἐμός, ἦτοι ἐγὼ γε  
 175 πειρήσω—δύναμαι—φιλητέων ὄρχαμος εἶναι.  
 εἰ δέ μ’ ἐρευνήσῃ Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός,  
 ἄλλό τί οἱ καὶ μεῖζον ὅτομαι ἀντιβολήσῃν·  
 εἶμι γὰρ ἐς Πυθῶνα μέγαν δόμον ἀντιτορήσων,  
 ἔνθεν ἄλις τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἡδὲ λέβητας  
 180 πορθήσω καὶ χρυσόν, ἄλις τ’ αἶθωνα σίδηρον  
 καὶ πολλὴν ἐσθῆτα· σὺ δ’ ὄψεαι, αἶ κ’ ἐθέλησθαι.”  
 ὥς οἱ μὲν ῥ’ ἐπέεσσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον  
 υἱὸς τ’ αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς καὶ πότνια Μαῖα.  
 Ἦὼς δ’ ἡριγένεια φόως θνητοῖσι φέρουσα  
 185 ὦρνυτ’ ἀπ’ Ὠκεανοῖο βαθυρρόον· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων  
 Ὀγχηστόνδ’ ἀφίκανε κιὼν πολυήρατον ἄλσος

#### 4. TO HERMES

Get away back with you! Your father has begotten you to be a great nuisance to mortal men and the immortal gods."

Hermes answered her craftily: "Mother mine, why try to scare me like this, as if I were a baby who knows little of mischief, a timorous one afraid of his mother's scoldings? I am going to embark on the finest of arts, keeping the two of us in clover for ever. We won't put up with staying here and being without offerings or prayers alone of all the immortals, as you would have us do. It's better to spend every day in pleasant chat among the gods, with wealth and riches and substance, than to sit at home in a gloomy cave. As for privilege, I'm going to enter on my rights, the same as Apollo. And if my father doesn't let me, then I shall set out—and I have the means—to be the prince of thieves. And if glorious Leto's son is going to track me down, I reckon I can meet him with something even bigger: I shall go to Pytho to burgle his great house, and from it I'll plunder plenty of beautiful tripods and cauldrons and gold, and plenty of gleaming iron, and lots of vestments—you'll see, if you care to."

Thus they were having words with each other, goat-rider Zeus' son and the lady Maia, when Dawn the early-born emerged from Ocean's deep waters to bring light to mortals. Then Apollo came to Onchestus, to the delightful

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163 δεδίσκειαι Pierson: τιτύσκειαι Ω

167 βουκολέων Ludwig: βουλεύων Ω

168 ἄλιστοι γ: ἄπαστοι ΜΨ

175 δύναμαι δὲ Ω: corr. Chalcondyles

ἀγνὸν ἐρισφαράγου Γαιηόχου· ἔνθα γέροντα  
νωχαλὸν ἡῦρε δέμοντα πάρεξ ὁδοῦ ἔρκος ἀλωῆς.  
τὸν πρότερος προσέφη Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός·

190 “ὦ γέρον Ὀγχηστοῖο βατοδρόπε ποιήεντος,  
βοῦς ἀπὸ Πιερίης διζήμενος ἐνθάδ’ ἰκάνω,  
πάσας θηλείας, πάσας κεράεσσιν ἐλικτάς,  
ἐξ ἀγέλης· ὁ δὲ ταῦρος ἐβόσκετο μῦνος ἀπ’ ἄλλων  
κυάνεος, χαροποὶ δὲ κύνες κατόπισθεν ἔποντο  
195 τέσσαρες ἡὔτε φῶτες ὁμόφρονες. οἱ μὲν ἔλειφθεν  
οἳ τε κύνες ὃ τε ταῦρος, ὃ δὴ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκται·  
ταὶ δ’ ἔβαν ἡελίοιο νέον καταδνομένοιο  
ἐκ μαλακοῦ λειμῶνος ἀπὸ γλυκεροῖο νομοῖο.

ταῦτά μοι εἶπέ, γεραιὲ παλαιγενές, εἴ που ὅπως  
200 ἀνέρα ταῖσδ’ ἐπὶ βουσὶ διαπρήσσοντα κέλευθον.”  
τὸν δ’ ὁ γέρων μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν·

“ὦ φίλος, ἀργαλέον μὲν, ὅσ’ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοιτο,  
πάντα λέγειν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ὁδὸν πρήσσουσιν ὁδῖται,  
τῶν οἱ μὲν κακὰ πολλὰ μεμαότες, οἱ δὲ μάλ’ ἐσθλά  
205 φοιτῶσιν· χαλεπὸν δὲ δαήμεναί ἐστιν ἕκαστον.  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πρόπαν ἡμαρ ἐς ἡέλιον καταδύντα  
ἔσκαπτον περὶ γουνὸν ἀλωῆς οἶνοπέδοιο·

παῖδα δ’ ἔδοξα, φέριστε, σαφές δ’ οὐκ οἶδα, νοῆσαι,  
ὅς τις ὁ παῖς ἅμα βουσὶν ἐῦκράρησιν ὀπήδει  
210 νήπιος, εἶχε δὲ ράβδον, ἐπιστροφάδην δ’ ἐβάδιζεν,  
ἐξοπίσω δ’ ἀνέεργε, κάρη δ’ ἔχον ἀντίον αὐτῶι.”

φῆ ῥ’ ὁ γέρων· ὁ δὲ θᾶσσον ὁδὸν κίε μῦθον  
ἀκούσας.

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holy grove of the loud-crashing Earth-rider.<sup>27</sup> There he found a slow-moving old man tilling his vine enclosure just off the road. Glorious Leto's son spoke to him first:

"Old sir, culler of grassy Onchestus' thorns, I have come here searching for some cattle from Pieria, all cows, all with crumpled horns, from a herd. The bull was grazing apart from the rest—sable color—and there were four fierce-eyed dogs following after them, working as a team like humans. But they were left behind, the dogs and the bull, which is an extraordinary thing, while the cows went off soon after sunset, leaving their lush meadow and sweet pasture. Tell me, ancient sir, if you have had any sight of a man on the road with these cows."

The old man answered him: "Friend, it is hard to keep count of everything one's eyes may see. There are many travellers on the road; some of them go with much ill intent, others with much good, and it is difficult to know which is which. But I was digging about my vine slopes all day to sunset, and I thought I saw a boy—but I don't rightly know, sir, what boy it was going behind the strong-horned cows, an infant, with a rod, walking this way and that, and he was driving them backwards, and they had their heads facing him."

So said the old man, and Apollo on hearing his words

<sup>27</sup> Poseidon. For his grove at Onchestos see *Hymn to Apollo* 230.

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188 νωχαλὸν Hermann: κνώδαλον Ω δέμοντα (cf. 87)  
Barnes: νέμοντα Ω

211 ἔχον Hermann: ἔχεν Ω

- οἰωνὸν δ' ἐνόει τανυσίπτερον, αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω  
 φιλητὴν γεγαῶτα Διὸς παῖδα Κρονίωνος.
- 215 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἤϊξεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων  
 ἐς Πύλον ἡγαθέην διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βούς,  
 πορφυρέῃ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένος εὐρέας ὤμους·  
 ἵχνια τ' εἰσενόησεν Ἐκηβόλος εἰπέ τε μῦθον·  
 “ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι.
- 220 ἵχνια μὲν τάδε γ' ἐστὶ βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων,  
 ἀλλὰ πάλιν τέτραπται ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα·  
 βήματα δ' οὐτ' ἀνδρὸς τάδε γίνεται οὔτε γυναικός  
 οὔτε λύκων πολιῶν οὐτ' ἄρκτων οὔτε λεόντων  
 οὔτε τι κενταύρου λασιαύχενος ἔλπομαι εἶναι,
- 225 ὅς τις τοῖα πέλωρα βιβᾶι ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν.  
 αἰνὰ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο, τὰ δ' αἰνότερ' ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο.”  
 ὥς εἰπὼν ἤϊξεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων,  
 Κυλλήνης δ' ἀφίκανεν ὄρος καταείμενον ὕλῃ  
 πέτρης ἐς κευθμῶνα βαθύσκιον, ἔνθα τε νύμφη
- 230 ἀμβροσίῃ ἐλόχευσε Διὸς παῖδα Κρονίωνος.  
 ὁδμὴ δ' ἱμερόεσσα δι' οὐρεὸς ἡγαθέοιο  
 κίδνατο, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ταναύποδα βόσκετο ποίην.  
 ἔνθα τότε σπεύδων κατεβήσετο λάϊνον οὐδόν  
 ἄντρον ἐς ἡρόεν ἐκατηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων.
- 235 τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱός  
 χωόμενον περὶ βουσὶν ἔκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα,  
 σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντ', ἥντε πολλήν  
 πρέμνων ἀνθρακιὴν ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει·  
 ὥς Ἑρμῆς Ἐκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀνεεῖλε ἔκ αὐτόν,
- 240 ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε



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hurried on his way. He observed a spread-winged bird of omen, and at once understood that it was the child of Kronos' son Zeus who had been the thief. Quickly the lord Apollo sped on to holy Pylos in search of his shambling cattle, his broad shoulders wrapped in a crimson cloud. And the Far-shooter noticed the tracks, and said, "Heavens, this is an extraordinary thing that I see. These are certainly the tracks of the high-horned cows, but they are facing back towards the asphodel meadow. And these are footprints of neither man nor woman, nor of grey wolves or bears or lions, nor of a shaggy-maned centaur do I fancy they are, whoever makes such monstrous prints with his swift feet. Strange business one side of the road, and stranger still on the other!"

With these words Zeus' son, lord Apollo, sped on, and came to Cyllene's wooded mountain, to the deep-shadowed cavern in the rock where the divine nymph gave birth to the child of Kronos' son Zeus. An enchanting fragrance pervaded the holy mountain, and numerous long-shanked sheep were grazing the grass. There it was that he then came hurrying, and went down over the stone threshold into the gloomy cave, far-shooting Apollo in person.

When the son of Zeus and Maia saw that it was the far-shooter Apollo angry about his cattle, he burrowed down into his fragrant swaddling cloth; as a mass of log embers is concealed under the wood ash, so Hermes curled himself up on seeing the Far-shooter, and compressed his head and arms and legs into a little space, just like a fresh-



φή ρα νεόλλουτος προκαλεόμενος ἥδυμον ὕπνον,  
ἐγρήσσω ἐτεόν γε χέλυν <δ> ὑπὸ μασχάλη  
εἶχεν.

- γυνὴ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱός  
νύμφην τ' οὐρείην περικαλλέα καὶ φίλον υἱόν,  
245 παῖδ' ὀλίγον δολίχης εἰλυμένον ἐντροπίησιν.  
παπτήνας δ' ἀνὰ πάντα μυχὸν μέγαλοιο δόμοιο  
τρεῖς ἀδύτους ἀνέωγε λαβὼν κληῖδα φαεινὴν  
νέκταρος ἐμπλείους ἦδ' ἀμβροσίης ἐρατεινῆς·  
πολλὸς δὲ χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος ἔνδον ἔκειτο,  
250 πολλὰ δὲ φοινικόεντα καὶ ἄργυφα εἴματα νύμφης,  
οἷα θεῶν μακάρων ἱεροὶ δόμοι ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν.  
ἐνθ' ἐπεὶ ἐξερέεινε μυχοὺς μέγαλοιο δόμοιο  
Λητοίδης, μύθοισι προσηΐδα κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν·  
“ὦ παῖ ὃς ἐν λίκνῳ κατάκειαι, μήνυέ μοι βούς  
255 θάσσον· ἐπεὶ τάχα νῶϊ διοισόμεθ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον.  
ρίψω γάρ σε λαβὼν ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα,  
ἐς ζόφον αἰνόμορον καὶ ἀμήχανον· οὐδέ σε μήτηρ  
ἐς φάος οὐδὲ πατὴρ ἀναλύσεται, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γαίῃ  
ἐρρήσεις ὀλίγοισι μετ' ἀνδράσιν ἡγεμονεύων.”  
260 τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισιν·  
“Λητοίδη, τίνα τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μῦθον ἔειπες,  
καὶ βούς ἀγραύλους διζήμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις;  
οὐκ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, οὐκ ἄλλου μῦθον ἄκουσα,  
οὐκ ἂν μηνύσαιμι, οὐκ ἂν μήνυτρον ἀροίμην.  
265 οὗ τι βοῶν ἐλατῆρι κραταιῶι φωτὶ ἔοικα.

241 φή ρα Barnes: δή ρα Ω: θῆρα νέον λοχάων γ

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bathed baby inviting sweet sleep, though wide awake in reality, keeping his lyre under his armpit. The son of Zeus and Leto did not fail to recognize the beautiful nymph of the mountain and her dear son, the little boy wrapped in his deceitful trickeries. He peered round every cranny of the great house; he took the shining key and opened three closets, full of nectar and lovely ambrosia. There was much gold and silver stored within, and many of the nymph's purple and white garments, such things as the blessed gods' holy houses contain. When Leto's son had investigated the alcoves of the great house, he spoke to glorious Hermes:

"You child lying in your cradle, tell me where my cows are, double quick, otherwise we two shall quarrel in no seemly fashion: I shall take you and hurl you into misty Tartarus, into the dismal Darkness past help. Your mother or father won't release you into the daylight, but you'll go to perdition below the earth, as the leader of human children."<sup>28</sup>

Hermes answered him craftily: "Son of Leto, what do you mean by these harsh words, coming here in search of cattle that dwell in the fields? I haven't seen them, I haven't inquired, I haven't been told. I couldn't tell you where they are, or earn a reward for it. I don't look like a

<sup>28</sup> The idea is that Hermes, condemned to the Underworld as a child, will rule over the human children there.

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242 ἐγρήσσω Martin, ἐτεόν γε Hermann: ἄγρης εἰνετεόν  
 τε Ω δ' add. Hermann 256 λαβὼν Ilgen: βαλὼν Ω  
 265 οὗ τι Hermann: οὔτε Ω

- οὐκ ἔμὸν ἔργον τοῦτο, πάρος δέ μοι ἄλλα μέμηλεν·  
 ὕπνος ἐμοί γε μέμηλε καὶ ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρός  
 σπάργανά τ' ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἔχειν καὶ θερμὰ λοετρά.  
 μή τις τοῦτο πύθοιτο, πόθεν τόδε νείκος ἐτύχθη·  
 270 καὶ κεν δὴ μέγα θαῦμα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι γένοιτο,  
 παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα διὰ προθύροιο περήσαι  
 βουσι μέτ' ἀγραύλοισι· τὸ δ' ἀπρεπέως ἀγορεύεις.  
 χθὲς γενόμην, ἀπαλοὶ δὲ πόδες, τρηχεῖα δ' ὕπο  
 χθών.  
 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, πατρὸς κεφαλὴν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι·  
 275 μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ὑπίσχομαι αἴτιος εἶναι,  
 μήτέ τιν' ἄλλον ὅπωπα βοῶν κλοπὸν ὑμετεράων,  
 αἷ τινες αἰ βόες εἰσὶ· τὸ δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούω.”  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ πυκνὸν ἀπὸ βλεφάρων  
 ἀμαρύσσων  
 ὀφρύσι, ρίπτάζεσκεν ὀρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
 280 μᾶκρ' ἀποσυνρίζων, ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ἀκούων.  
 τὸν δ' ἀπαλὸν γελάσας προσέφη ἐκάεργος  
 Ἀπόλλων·  
 “ὦ πέπον ἡπεροπευτὰ δολοφραδές, ἦ σε μάλ' οἶω  
 πολλάκις ἀντιτορέοντα δόμους εὖ ναιετάοντας  
 ἔννυχον οὗ χ' ἓνα μῦνον ἐπ' οὔδει φῶτα καθέσσαι  
 285 σκευάζοντα κατ' οἶκον ἄτερ ψόφου, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις·  
 πολλοὺς δ' ἀγραύλους ἀκαχήσεις μηλοβοτῆρας  
 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι, ὅποταν κρειῶν ἐρατίζων  
 ἀντήσῃσι ἀγέλησι βοῶν καὶ πῶεσι μῆλων.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε, μὴ πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ὕπνον  
 ἱαύσῃσι,

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cattle rustler, a strong man. That isn't my business, I'm more interested in other things: what I'm interested in is sleeping, and my mother's milk, and having wrappings round my shoulders, and warm baths. I hope no one comes to hear what this dispute was about; it would astonish the immortals, the idea of a newborn child coming through the porch with cattle that dwell in the fields. That's nonsense you're talking. I was born yesterday, my feet are tender, and it's rough ground beneath. If you like, I'll swear a big oath, by my father's head: I promise I'm not to blame personally, and I haven't seen anyone else stealing your cows—whatever cows they are, I've only heard talk of them."

So saying, and with many flutterings of his brows and eyelids, he tossed and turned, looking this way and that, whistling away at length, treating Apollo's words as empty. The Far-shooter laughed gently and said:

"My dear sly swindler, by the way you talk, I reckon you will often be burgling prosperous houses by night and leaving more than one man sitting on the floor as you rob his household without a sound; and you'll be vexing many a herdsman who sleeps in the open in the mountain glens, any time you crave meat and come upon their cattle herds and their flocks of sheep. Now then, if you don't want to be put to sleep once and for all, come down from your cradle,

- 290 ἐκ λίκνου κατάβαινε, μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἐταῖρε.  
τοῦτο γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἔπειτα μετ' ἀθανάτοις γέρας  
ἕξεις·  
ἀρχὸς φιλητέων κεκλήσεται ἥματα πάντα.”  
ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ παῖδα λαβὼν φέρε Φοῖβος  
Ἀπόλλων.  
σὺν δ' ἄρα φρασσάμενος τότε δὴ κρατὺς  
Ἀργειφόντης
- 295 οἶωνόν προέηκεν ἀειρόμενος μετὰ χερσίν,  
τλήμονα γαστρὸς ἔριθον, ἀτάσθαλον ἀγγελιώτην,  
ἐσσυμένως δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέπταρε· τοιοῦ δ'  
Ἀπόλλων  
ἔκλυνεν, ἐκ χειρῶν δὲ χαμαὶ βάλε κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν.  
ἔζετο δὲ προπάροιθε καὶ ἐσσύμενός περ ὁδοῖο
- 300 Ἑρμῆν κερτομέων, καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
“θάρσει, σπαργανῶτα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος νιέ·  
εὐρήσω καὶ ἔπειτα βοῶν ἵφθιμα κάρηνα  
τούτοις οἰωνοῖσιν· σὺ δ' αὖθ' ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύσεις.”  
ὥς φάθ'· ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀνόρουσε θοῶς Κυλλήνιος  
Ἑρμῆς
- 305 σπουδῇ ἰών· ἄμφω δὲ παρ' οὐατα χερσὶν ἐώθει,  
σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἐελμένος, εἶπε δὲ μῦθον·  
“πῆμι με φέρεις, Ἑκάεργε, θεῶν ζαμένεσταιε  
πάντων;  
ἦ με βοῶν ἔνεχ' ὧδε χολούμενος ὀρσολοπεύεις;  
ὦ πόποι, εἴθ' ἀπόλοιτο βοῶν γένος· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε
- 310 ὑμετέρας ἔκλεψα βόας, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὄπωπα,  
αἷ τινές εἰσι βόες· τὸ δὲ δὴ κλέος οἶον ἀκούω.

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you friend of dark night. For in fact you are to have this privilege among the immortals from now on: you shall be known as the prince of thieves for evermore."

So Phoibos Apollo spoke, and picked the child up to carry him. But just then the powerful Argus-slayer made up his mind and, as he was borne aloft in Apollo's arms, he emitted an omen, a menial servant of the belly, an unruly messenger;<sup>29</sup> and after it he promptly sneezed. On hearing that, Apollo dropped glorious Hermes on the ground, squatted down in front of him, eager though he was to be on his way, and bantered with Hermes, saying:

"Don't you worry, swatheling son of Zeus and Maia, I shall yet find my sturdy cattle with these omens, and you will lead the way."

So he spoke; whereupon Cyllenian Hermes quickly jumped up and set off in earnest. He pushed his hands up by his ears, wrapped round the shoulders as he was with the swaddling cloth, and said:

"Which way are you taking me, Far-shooter, most irascible of all the gods? Are you harassing me like this because you're angry about your cows? Damn all cows! I haven't stolen your cows, or seen anyone else with them—whatever cows they are, I've only heard talk of them. Put

<sup>29</sup> A fart.

# HOMERIC HYMNS

δὸς δὲ δίκην καὶ δέξο παρὰ Ζηνὶ Κρονίῳνι.”

- αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὰ ἕκαστα διαρρήδην ἐρέεινον  
 Ἑρμῆς τ' οἰοπόλος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱός,  
 315 ἀμφὶς θυμὸν ἔχοντες· ὁ μὲν νημερτέα φωνῶν  
 οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐπὶ βουσὶν ἐλάζυτο κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ τέχνησιν τε καὶ αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισιν  
 ἤθελεν ἐξαπατᾶν Κυλλήνιος Ἀργυρότοξον·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πολύμητις ἐὼν πολυμήχανον ἧῖρεν,  
 320 ἐσσυμένως δῆπειτα διὰ ψαμάθοιο βάδιζεν  
 πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ κατόπισθε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱός.  
 αἶψα δὲ τέρθρον ἵκοντο θυνώδεος Οὐλύμποιο  
 ἐς πατέρα Κρονίωνα Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα·  
 κείθι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι δίκης κατέκειτο τάλαντα.  
 325 εὐωχίῃ δ' ἔχ' Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον, ἀθάνατοι δὲ  
 ἄφθιτοι ἠγερέθοντο μετὰ χρυσόθρονον Ἡῶ.  
 ἔστησαν δ' Ἑρμῆς τε καὶ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
 πρόσθε Διὸς γούνων· ὁ δ' ἀνείρετο φαίδιμον υἱόν  
 Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 330 “Φοῖβε, πόθεν ταύτην μενοεικέα ληΐδ' ἐλαύνεις,  
 παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα, φυὴν κήρυκος ἔχοντα;  
 σπονδαῖον τόδε χρῆμα θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγυριν ἦλθεν.”  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων·  
 “ὦ πάτερ, ἦ τάχα μῦθον ἀκούσσαι οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν,  
 335 κερτομέων ὥς οἶος ἐγὼ φιλολῆϊός εἰμι.  
 παῖδά τιν' ἧῖρον τόνδε διαπρύσιον κεραῖσστήν

315 φωνῶν Wolf: φωνῆν Ω

325 εὐωχίῃ West: εὐμιλίῃ M, εὐμυλίῃ Ψ

#### 4. TO HERMES

the case to trial before Zeus, son of Kronos.”

When lone-ranging Hermes and Leto's splendid son had asked all their questions about everything, still in disagreement—the latter, speaking true, was not unjustly apprehending glorious Hermes over the cows, whereas the Cyllenian was hoping to deceive Silverbow with his arts and his wily words—so when he found Apollo as resourceful as he himself was cunning, after that he walked quickly through the sands, leading the way, with the son of Zeus and Leto following. Soon Zeus' handsome children reached the edge of fragrant Olympus, to their father the son of Kronos; there the scales of justice were in place for the two of them. Feasting(?) prevailed on snowy Olympus, and the deathless immortals were assembling after gold-throned Dawn. Hermes and silverbow Apollo took their stand before Zeus' knees. Zeus who thunders on high questioned his resplendent son and addressed him:

“Phoibos, where have you driven this heart-warming prey from, this newborn child with the build of a herald?<sup>30</sup> This is a matter of moment that has come before the gods' assembly.”

The far-shooting lord Apollo spoke to him in turn: “Father, you're about to hear a story of no little interest, you who rib me for being uniquely acquisitive. I found this child, a thoroughgoing plunderer type, in the mountains of

<sup>30</sup> Hermes was to become the gods' herald.

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326 μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἦώ γ: ποτὶ πτύχας Οὐλύμποιο ΜΨ



- Κυλλήνης ἐν ὄρεσσι, πολὺν διὰ χῶρον ἀνύσσας,  
 κέρτομον, οἷον ἐγὼ γε θεῶν οὐκ ἄλλον ὅπωπα  
 οὐδ' ἀνδρῶν, ὅποσοι ληισίμβροτοί εἰς' ἐπὶ γαίαν.  
 340 κλέψας δ' ἐκ λειμῶνος ἐμὰς βοῦς ὦιχετ' ἐλαύνων  
 ἐσπέριος παρὰ θίνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,  
 εὐθὺ Πύλονδ' ἐλάων· τὰ δ' ἄρ' ἵχνια, δοιὰ πέλωρα,  
 οἷά τ' ἀγάσσασθαι, καὶ ἀγανοῦ δαίμονος ἔργα.  
 τῆσιν μὲν γὰρ βουσὶν ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα  
 345 ἀντία βήματ' ἔχουσα κόνις ἀνέφαινε μέλαινα·  
 αὐτὸς δ' οὐθ' ὁδοῦ ἐκτὸς ἀμήχανος, οὔτ' ἄρα  
 ποσσὶν  
 οὔτ' ἄρα χερσὶν ἔβαινε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον,  
 ἀλλ' ἄλλην τινὰ μῆτιν ἔχων διέτριβε κέλευθα  
 τοῖα πέλωρ', ὥς εἴ τις ἀραιοῖσι δρυσὶ βαίνοι.  
 350 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν ἐδίωκε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον,  
 ῥεῖα μάλ' ἵχνια πάντα διέπρεπεν ἐν κονίησιν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ψαμάθοιο πολὺν στίβον ἐξεπέρησεν,  
 ἄφραστος γένετ' ὦκα βοῶν στίβος ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 χῶρον ἀνὰ κρατερόν. τὸν δ' ἐφράσατο βροτὸς ἀνὴρ  
 355 ἐς Πύλον εὐθὺς ἐλῶντα βοῶν γένος εὐρυμετώπων.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τὰς μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίῃ κατέερξεν  
 καὶ διαπυρπαλάμησεν ὁδοῦ τὸ μὲν ἔνθα, τὸ δ' ἔνθα,  
 ἐν λίκνῳ κατέκειτο μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἐοικώς  
 ἄνθρωπῳ ἐν ἡερόεντι κατὰ ζόφον, οὐδέ κεν αὐτόν  
 360 αἰετὸς ὄξυν λάων ἐσκέψατο· πολλὰ δὲ χερσὶν  
 αὐγὰς ὠμόργαζε δολοφροσύνην ἀλεγύνων.  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίκα μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀγόρευεν·  
 'οὐκ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, οὐκ ἄλλου μῦθον ἄκουσα,

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Cyllene after a long journey: impudent like I've seen no one else among gods or humans, of all those who are robbers of men on the earth. He stole my cows from the meadow and drove them off last evening along the shore of the noisy sea, driving directly towards Pylos. The tracks were a double monstrosity worthy of amazement, a devil's doing: for the cows, the dark dust that held their prints showed them going back towards the asphodel meadow, while he himself, the impossible fellow, was crossing the sandy region without either leaving the road, or going on his feet, or on his hands—he had some other device and was rubbing such monstrous tracks as if someone were walking on slender oak trunks. Well, so long as he was chasing through the sandy region, all the prints stood out very clearly in the dust, but when he had crossed the long track of sand, the cows' tracks and his own soon became indistinguishable on the rocky terrain. But a mortal man noticed him driving the broad-browed cattle directly towards Pylos. After he had penned them in quietly and completed his conjuring act on this side of the road and that, he lay down in his cradle, invisible as night in the darkness of the gloomy cave—not even a keen-sighted eagle would have spotted him—and did a lot of rubbing his eyes to further his deception. And his own immediate words were quite forthright: 'I haven't seen them, I haven't inquired, I

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346 οὐθ' ὁδοῦ West: οὐτος ὅδ' Ω

356 κατέεργε p: κατέρεξε Mfx

361 ὠμόργαζε Ilgen: ὠμάρταζε Ω

- οὐδέ κε μηνύσαιμ', οὐδ' ἂν μήνυτρον ἀροίμην.”
- 365 ἦτοι ἄρ' ὥς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·  
Ἑρμῆς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν,  
δείξατο δ' ἐς Κρονίωνα θεῶν σημάντορα πάντων·  
“Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦτοι ἐγὼ σοι ἀληθείην ἀγορεύσω·  
νημερτής τε γάρ εἰμι καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ψεύδεσθαι.  
370 ἦλθεν ἐς ἡμετέρου διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς  
σήμερον ἡελίοιο νέον ἐπιτελλομένοιο,  
οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων ἄγε μάρτυρας οὐδὲ κατόπτας·  
μηνύειν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκαίης ὕπο πολλῆς,  
πολλὰ δέ μ' ἠπείλησε βαλεῖν ἐς Τάρταρον εὐρύν,  
375 οὐνεχ' ὃ μὲν τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχει φιλοκυδέος ἥβης,  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ χθιζὸς γενόμην—τὰ δέ τ' οἶδε καὶ  
αὐτός—  
οὔ τι βοῶν ἐλατῇρι κραταιῶι φωτὶ ἐοικώς.  
πείθεο, καὶ γὰρ ἐμέϊο πατὴρ φίλος εὐχεται εἶναι,  
ὥς οὐκ οἴκαδ' ἔλασσα βόας, ὥς ὄλβιος εἶην,  
380 οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔβην· τὸ δέ τ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύω.  
Ἥελιον δὲ μάλ' αἰδέομαι καὶ δαίμονας ἄλλους,  
καὶ σὲ φιλῶ, καὶ τοῦτον ὀπίζομαι· οἶσθα καὶ αὐτός,  
ὥς οὐκ αἵτιός εἰμι. μέγαν δ' ἐπιδώσομαι ὄρκον·  
οὐ μὰ τὰδ' ἀθανάτων ἐκόςμῃτα προθύραια  
385 μή ποτ' ἐγὼ τούτῳ τείσω ποτὲ νηλέα φωρὴν  
καὶ κρατερῶι περ εὐόντι σὺν δ' ὀπλοτέροισιν ἄρηγε.”  
ὥς φάτ' ἐπιλλίζων Κυλλήνιος Ἀργεϊφόντης,  
καὶ τὸ σπάργανον εἶχεν ἐπ' ὠλένηι οὐδ' ἀπέβαλλεν.

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haven't been told. I couldn't tell you where they are, or earn a reward for it.”

With these words Phoibos Apollo sat down. Hermes told a different tale among the immortals, gesturing towards Kronos' son, the commander of all the gods:

“Father Zeus, I shall tell you it as it was, for I am truthful and do not know how to tell a lie. He came into our place in search of his shambling cattle today as the sun was just rising. He didn't bring witnesses or observers from the blessed gods, but insisted on disclosure with much duress, and with many threats to throw me into broad Tartarus, because he has the delicate bloom of his glorious prime, while I was born yesterday, as he well knows, and I don't look like a cattle rustler, a strong man. Believe me (since you call yourself my dear father) that I didn't drive his cows home—so may I prosper—or even cross the threshold, and I'm speaking the truth. I am in awe of Helios<sup>31</sup> and the other gods, and I love you, and I respect him. You yourself know I'm not to blame. I'll give you a great oath too: by these finely adorned porches of the gods, I will never ever pay him compensation for that ruthless theft, strong though he is; you must support us younger ones.”

So the Cyllenian Argus-slayer spoke, looking sideways, keeping his swaddling cloth on his arm and not letting it

<sup>31</sup> The Sun god sees everything that is done on earth—by day.

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380 τὸ δέ τ' Hermann: τόδε δ' Ω

383 ἐπιδώσομαι Barnes: ἐπιδεύομαι M, ἐπιδαίομαι Ψ

385 μή West: καί Ω

- Ζεὺς δὲ μέγ' ἐξεγέλασσευ ἰδὼν κακομηδέα παῖδα  
 390 εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως ἀρνεόμενον ἀμφὶ βόεσσιν.  
 ἀμφοτέρους δ' ἐκέλευσεν ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντας  
 ζητεύειν, Ἑρμῇ δὲ διάκτορον ἡγεμονεύειν,  
 καὶ δεῖξαι τὸν χῶρον ἐπ' ἀβλαβίησι νόοιο,  
 ὅππῃ δὴ αὖτ' ἀπέκρυψε βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα.  
 395 νεύσεν δὲ Κρονίδης, ἐπεπείθετο δ' ἀγλαὸς Ἑρμῆς·  
 ῥηϊδίως γὰρ ἔπειθε Διὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο.  
 τῷ δ' ἄμφω σπεύδοντε Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα  
 εἰς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον ἵξον·  
 ἀγροὺς δ' ἐξίκοντο καὶ αὖλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον,  
 400 ἡχοῦ δὴ τὰ χρήματ' ἀτάλλετο νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ.  
 ἔνθ' Ἑρμῆς μὲν ἔπειτα κιῶν παρὰ λαῖνον ἄντρον  
 εἰς φάος ἐξήλαυε βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα·  
 Λητοΐδης δ' ἀπάτερθεν ἰδὼν ἐνόησε βοείας  
 πέτρῃ ἔπ' ἡλιβάτῳ, τάχα δ' ἤρετο κύδιμον Ἑρμῇν·  
 405 “πῶς ἐδύνω, δολομῆτα, δύω βόε δειροτομήσαι,  
 ὧδε νεογνὸς ἐὼν καὶ νήπιος; αὐτὸς ἐγὼ γε  
 θαυμαίνω κατόπισθε τὸ σὸν κράτος· οὐδὲ τί σε χρή  
 μακρὸν ἀέξεσθαι, Κυλλήνιε Μαιάδος υἱέ.”  
 ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ χερσὶ περιστρεφε καρτερὰ δεσμά  
 410 ἄγνου· ταὶ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κατὰ χθονὸς αἶψα φύοντο  
 αὐτόθεν ἐμβολάδην ἐστραμμέναι ἀλλήλησιν,  
 ρεῖά τε καὶ πάσησιν ἐπ' ἀγραύλοισι βόεσσιν  
 Ἑρμέε βουλῇσι κλεψίφρονος· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων  
 θαύμασεν ἀθρήσας. τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης  
 415 χῶρον ὑποβλήδην ἐσκέψατο πῦρ ἀμαρύσσων,  
 ἐγκρύψαι μεμαώς· Λητοῦς δ' ἐρικυδέος υἱόν

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drop.<sup>32</sup> Zeus laughed out loud when he saw the wicked boy making his fine, expert denials about the cows. He told the two of them to be reconciled and make search, Hermes the go-between to lead the way and without deceit to show the place where he had hidden the sturdy cattle. Kronos' son nodded his head, and bright Hermes acceded, readily persuaded by the purpose of Zeus the goat-rider.

So the two handsome children of Zeus, both in earnest, came to sandy Pylos, to the ford of the Alpheios, and arrived at the fields and high-roofed steading where the stock had been foddered during the night. There Hermes went the length of the rocky cavern and drove the sturdy cattle out into the light. But Apollo, looking away, saw the hides on the rock face, and straightway asked glorious Hermes:

"How were you able to slaughter two cows, trickster, newborn infant that you are? I myself wonder at your strength for the future. You had better not go on growing much longer, Cyllenian son of Maia."

With these words he began to plait strong bonds from osier. But the osiers at once grew into the earth right there beneath his feet, twined into each other like grafts, easily and over all the field-dwelling cattle, by the designs of deceptive Hermes; Apollo was amazed to see it. Then the strong Argus-slayer surveyed the area with his eyes darting fire, intent on hiding it from view. Glorious Leto's son <was

<sup>32</sup> He still had his lyre hidden under it.

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402  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$  Hermann:  $\phi\hat{\omega}\varsigma\ \Omega$

416 lac. stat. West

· ρεία· μάλ' ἐπρήϋνεν Ἑκκηβόλον, ὥς ἔθελ' αὐτός,  
καὶ κρατερόν περ ἔοντα· λαβὼν δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ  
χειρός

πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέλος· ἧ δ' ὑπὸ χειρός  
420 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε. γέλασσε δὲ Φοῖβος  
Ἀπόλλων

γηθήσας, ἐρατὴ δὲ διὰ φρένας ἦλνθ' ἰωή  
θεσπεσίης ἐνοπῆς, καὶ μιν γλυκὺς ἥμερος ἦρει  
θυμὸν ἀκονάζοντα. λύρῃ δ' ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων  
στῇ ῥ' ὃ γε θαρσῆσας ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ Μαιάδος υἱός  
425 Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνος, τάχα δὲ λιγέως κιθαρίζων  
γῆρύετ' ἀμβολάδην, ἐρατὴ δέ οἱ ἔσπετο φωνή,  
κραίνων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς καὶ Γαῖαν ἐρεμνήν,  
ὥς τὰ πρῶτα γένοντο καὶ ὥς λάχε μοῖραν ἕκαστος.  
Μνημοσύνην μὲν πρῶτα θεῶν ἐγέραιρεν ἀοιδῇ  
430 μητέρα Μουσάων, ἧ γὰρ λάχε Μαιάδος υἱόν·  
τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πρέσβιν τε καὶ ὥς γεγάασιν ἕκαστος  
ἀθανάτους ἐγέραιρε θεοὺς Διὸς ἀγλαὸς υἱός,  
πάντ' ἐνέπων κατὰ κόσμον, ὑπωλένιον κιθαρίζων.  
τὸν δ' ἔρος ἐν στήθεσσι ἀμήχανος αἶνυτο θυμόν,  
435 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
“βουφόνε μηχανιώτα, πονεόμενε δαιτὸς ἐταίρην,  
πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀντάξια ταῦτα μέμηδας·

423 θυμὸν West: θυμῷ Ω

433 ὑπωλένιον (= 510) Barnes: ἐπ- Ω

436 ἐταίρην Matthiae: ἐταῖρε Ω

437 μέμηδας Page: μέμηλας Ω



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seized with anger, and he exclaimed, "Oh! You have captured my cows after all. Now you will have to pay me heavy compensation if you want to placate me." Then Hermes, taking out the lyre that he held concealed under his swaddling cloth,<sup>33</sup> easily pacified the Far-shooter for all his toughness, as he himself desired. Taking it on his left arm, he tried it out with a plectrum in a tuned scale, and it rang out impressively under his hand; and Phoibos Apollo laughed for pleasure, the lovely sound of its wondrous voice invaded his senses, and sweet longing captivated his heart as he listened. Playing delightfully on the lyre, the son of Maia stationed himself unafraid on Phoibos Apollo's left, and soon, with the lyre's clear accompaniment, he was striking up his song, and his voice came lovely: he spoke authoritatively of the immortal gods and of dark Earth, how they were born originally and how each received his portion. Remembrance first of the gods he honored in his song, the mother of the Muses, for she had Maia's son in her province, and then the rest of the immortal gods Zeus' splendid son honored according to seniority and affiliation, relating everything in due order, and playing the lyre that hung from his arm.<sup>34</sup> As for Apollo, helpless longing seized the spirit in his breast, and he addressed him in winged words:

"You kill-cow, you ingenious inventor, busy with a dinner companion,<sup>35</sup> here you have contrived something of

<sup>33</sup> Some lines to this effect have apparently fallen out of the text; compare 437–438.

<sup>34</sup> The lyre was supported by a strap attached to the player's left wrist, leaving the fingers free to pluck or damp the strings, while the right hand wielded the plectrum.

<sup>35</sup> The lyre. Compare 31, 478 ff.



- ἥσυχίως καὶ ἔπειτα διακρινέεσθαι οἶω.  
 νῦν δ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ, πολύτροπε Μαιάδος υἱέ·  
 440 ἦ σοί γ' ἐκ γενετῆς τάδ' ἅμ' ἔσπετο θαυματὰ ἔργα,  
 ἥέ τις ἀθανάτων ἢ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 δῶρον ἀγαθὸν ἔδωκε καὶ ἔφρασε θέσπιν ἀοιδήν;  
 θαυμασίην γὰρ τήνδε νεήφατον ὅσσαν ἀκούω,  
 ἣν οὐ πώ ποτέ φημι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἀνδρῶν  
 445 οὔτε τιν' ἀθανάτων οἱ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσιν,  
 νόσφι σέθεν, φιλήτα Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ.  
 τίς τέχνη, τίς μούσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων,  
 τίς τρίβος; ἀτρεκέως γὰρ ἅμα τρία πάντα πάρεστιν  
 εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἥδυμον ὕπνον ἐλέσθαι.  
 450 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μούσησιν Ὀλυμπιάδεσσιν ὀπηδός,  
 τῆσι χοροὶ τε μέλουνσι καὶ ἀγλαὸς οἶμος ἀοιδῆς  
 καὶ μολπή τεθαλῦια καὶ ἱμερόεις βρόμος αὐλῶν·  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πώ τί μοι ᾧδε μετὰ φρεσὶν ἄλλο μέλησεν,  
 οἷα νέων θαλίης ἐνδέξια ἔργα πέλονται.  
 455 θαυμάζω, Διὸς υἱέ, τάδ' ὥς ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζεις.  
 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ὀλίγος περ ἐὼν κλυτὰ μῆδεα οἶδας,  
 ἕξε, πέπον, καὶ μῦθον ἐπαινέει πρεσβυτέροισιν.  
 νῦν γάρ τοι κλέος ἔσται ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν  
 σοί τ' αὐτῶι καὶ μητρί· τὸ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω·  
 460 ναὶ μὰ τόδε κρανείνον ἀκόντιον, ἧ μὲν ἐγὼ σε  
 κυδρὸν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι καὶ ὄλβιον ἡγεμονεύσω,  
 δώσω τ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω.”  
 τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισιν·

457 μῦθον Ruhnkenius: θυμὸν Ω

#### 4. TO HERMES

matching value to my fifty cows! I think we shall yet achieve a peaceful settlement. But now tell me this, resourceful son of Maia: did these marvellous accomplishments attend you from birth, or did some god or mortal give you this remarkable gift and teach you wondrous singing? For this is a marvellous new-uttered voice I am hearing, that I declare no man and none of the immortals dwelling in Olympus has ever yet known, apart from you, deceitful son of Zeus and Maia. What is the skill, what the art of these baffling diversions, what the method? For truly, this lets one enjoy three boons all together, good cheer, love, and sweet sleep. I too, you know, am a follower of the Olympian Muses, whose concerns are dancing and the splendid course of song, and lively music, and the captivating bray of the shawms. Yet I have never thought of anything else like this—like the passing to the right at young men's feasts.<sup>36</sup> I am amazed, son of Zeus, how beautifully you can play such things on the lyre. Well, seeing that you are so clever, small as you are, pray sit there and acknowledge what your elders say. For now you are going to be renowned among the immortal gods, you and your mother. I'll tell you truly, yes, by this cornel-wood javelin, I guarantee I shall introduce(?) you to the immortals, to enjoy prestige and fortune. I shall give you fine gifts, and never deceive you."

Hermes answered him craftily: "You question me, wise

<sup>36</sup> At the symposium a myrtle branch and/or a lyre was passed round the guests from left to right, and each in turn was expected to sing or improvise a few verses. Our poet represents the practice as already existing in outline and as just waiting for the lyre to be invented for its perfection. Compare 55–56.

- “εἰρωταῖς μ’, Ἐκάεργε περιφραδές· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι  
 465 τέχνης ἡμετέρης ἐπιβήμεναι οὐ τι μεγαίρω.  
 σήμερον εἰδήσεις· ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι  
 βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι, σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ πάντ’ εὖ οἶδας.  
 πρῶτος γάρ, Διὸς νιέ, μετ’ ἀθανάτοισι θαάσσεις,  
 ἡὗς τε κρατερός τε φιλεῖ δέ σε μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 470 ἐκ πάσης ὀσίσης, ἔπορεν δέ τοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα·  
 καὶ τιμὰς σέ γέ φασι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς  
 μαντείας, Ἐκάεργε, Διὸς πάρα θέσφατα πάντα·  
 τῶν νῦν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ σε μάλ’ ἀφνειὸν δεδάηκα.  
 σοὶ δ’ αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μενοινᾷς.  
 475 ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν τοι θυμὸς ἐπιθύει κιθαρίζειν,  
 μέλπεο καὶ κιθάριζε καὶ ἀγλαΐας ἀλέγνυε  
 δέγμενος ἐξ ἐμέθεν· σὺ δ’ ἐμοί, φίλε, κῦδος ὄπαζε.  
 εὐμόλπει μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων λιγύφωνον ἑταίρην  
 καλὰ καὶ εὖ κατὰ κόσμον ἐπισταμένην ἀγορεύειν.  
 480 εὐκηλὸς μιν ἔπειτα φέρειν ἐς δαῖτα θάλειαν  
 καὶ χορὸν ἱμερόεντα καὶ ἐς φιλοκυδέα κῶμον,  
 εὐφροσύνην νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματος· ὅς τις ἂν αὐτήν  
 τέχνην καὶ σοφίην δεδαημένος ἐξερεεῖνι,  
 φθεγγομένη παντοῖα νόωι χαρίεντα διδάσκει,  
 485 ρέϊα συνηθείησιν ἀθυρομένη μαλακῆσιν,  
 ἐργασίην φεύγουσα δυήπαθον· ὅς δέ κεν αὐτήν  
 νῆϊς ἐὼν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζαφελῶς ἐρεεῖνι,  
 μὰψ αὐτῶς κεν ἔπειτα μετήορά τε θρυλίζοι.  
 σοὶ δ’ αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μενοινᾷς.  
 490 καὶ τοι ἐγὼ δώσω ταύτην, Διὸς ἀγλαὴ κούρε·  
 ἡμεῖς δ’ αὖτ’ ὄρεός τε καὶ ἵπποβότου πεδίοιο

#### 4. TO HERMES

Far-shooter, and I don't mind you embarking on my art. You shall learn it this very day. I want to be friendly to you in word and intent: you have a good knowledge of everything, son of Zeus, for you sit in first place among the immortals, noble and powerful, and resourceful Zeus loves you as is right and proper, and has given you fine gifts. And they say you have the privilege of prophetic knowledge from Zeus' utterance, Far-shooter, the complete revelation of Zeus' will; in which I myself have now learned that you are richly endowed. You can help yourself to the knowledge you want. But as your heart is set on playing the lyre, play it, make music, and be festive, accept it from me; and you, dear friend, give me prestige in turn. Be a fine musician, fondling this clear-voiced girl friend who knows how to talk fine and fittingly. Take her confidently to the banquet and the lovely dance and the bumptious revel, a source of good cheer day and night. If one questions her with skill and expertise, she speaks all kinds of lessons to charm the fancy, easily tickled with tender familiarity, avoiding tiresome effort. But if a novice questions her roughly, then she will utter useless, discordant rubbish. You can help yourself to the knowledge you want. I will give her to you, splendid son of Zeus, while I for my part, Far-shooter, will graze the pastures of the mountain and

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472 *μαντείας θ'* (vel *τ'*) Ω: corr. Matthiae

473 *σε* Hermann, *μάλ'* Evelyn-White: *γε παῖδ'* Ω

479 *ἐπισταμένην* Barnes: *-μένως* Ω

480 *μιν* Ilgen: *μὲν* Ω

- βουσι νομούς, Ἑκάεργε, νομεύσομεν ἀγραύλοισιν.  
 ἔνθεν ἄλις τέξουσι βόες ταύροισι μιγείσαι  
 μίγδην θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρσενας· οὐδέ τί σε χρή  
 495 κερδαλέον περ ἔοντα περιζαμενῶς κεχολῶσθαι.”  
 ὥς εἰπὼν ὥρεξ', ὃ δ' ἔδέξατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·  
 Ἑρμῇ δ' ἐγγυάλιξεν ἐκὼν μάστιγα φαεινὴν  
 βουκολίας τ' ἐπέτελλεν· ἔδεκτο δὲ Μαιάδος υἱὸς  
 γηθήσας. κίθαριν δὲ λαβὼν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς  
 500 Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
 πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέλος, ἥ δ' ὑπὸ νέρθεν  
 ἱμερόεν κονάβησε, θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄεισεν.  
 ἔνθα βόας μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ ζάθεον λειμῶνα  
 ἐτραπέτην· αὐτοὶ δὲ Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα  
 505 ἄψορροι πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον ἐρρώσαντο  
 τερπόμενοι φόρμιγγι. χάρη δ' ἄρα μητίετα Ζεὺς,  
 ἄμφω δ' ἐς φιλότητα συνήγαγε· καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑρμῆς  
 Λητοίδην ἐφίλησε διαμπερές, ὥς ἔτι καὶ νῦν,  
 508a <Λητοίδης δὲ κασιγνήτου φιλότητος ἀνέγνω>  
 σήματ', ἐπεὶ κίθαριν μὲν Ἑκηβόλῳ ἐγγυάλιξεν  
 510 ἱμερτὴν δεδαώς, ὃ δ' ὑπωλένιον κιθάριζεν,  
 αὐτὸς δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρης σοφίης ἐκμάσσατο τέχνην·  
 συρίγγων ἐνοπὴν ποιήσατο τηλόθ' ἀκουστήν.  
 καὶ τότε Λητοίδης Ἑρμῇ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 “δεῖδια, Μαιάδος υἱὲ διάκτορε ποικιλομήτα,  
 515 μῆ μοι ἀνακλέψῃς κίθαριν καὶ καμπύλα τόξα·  
 τιμὴν γὰρ παρ Ζηνὸς ἔχεις ἐπαμοίβιμα ἔργα

497 ἐκὼν Martin: ἔχων Ω

508a e.g. add. West

#### 4. TO HERMES

the horse-nurturing plain with the cattle that dwell in the fields. Then the cows will mate with the bulls and bear calves in plenty, both male and female, so there is no call for you, acquisitive as you are, to be furiously angry.”

With these words he held out the lyre, and Phoibos Apollo took it; and he willingly handed Hermes the shining goad and enjoined on him the care of cattle, which Maia’s son accepted gladly. Then, taking the lyre on his left arm, Leto’s glorious son, the far-shooting lord Apollo, tried it out with a plectrum in a tuned scale, and it rang out enchantingly below, while the god sang beautifully to its accompaniment.

Then they headed the cattle toward their holy meadow, while Zeus’ two beautiful children themselves went prancing back to snowy Olympus, entertaining themselves with the lyre. Resourceful Zeus was glad, and reconciled them to friendship: Hermes took to loving Leto’s son constantly, as he still does, <and Leto’s son acknowledged his brother’s love> tokens,<sup>37</sup> in that he had handed to the Far-shooter the lovely lyre with which he was expert, for him to play as it hung from his arm, while he himself sought out a different artful skill—he made for himself the panpipes’ far-carrying sound.

Then Leto’s son said to Hermes, “I am afraid, son of Maia, cunning go-between, that you will steal back my lyre, and my bent bow, as you have this privilege from

<sup>37</sup> Line inserted conjecturally.

- θήσειν ἀνθρώποισι κατὰ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν.  
 ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τλαίης γε θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόςσαι,  
 ἧ κεφαλῇ νεύσας ἧ ἐπὶ Στυγὸς ὄβριμον ὕδωρ,  
 520 πάντ' ἂν ἐμῶι θυμῶι κεχαρισμένα καὶ φίλα ἔρδοις.”  
 καὶ τότε Μαιάδος υἱὸς ὑποσχόμενος κατένευσεν  
 μή ποτ' ἀποκλέψειν ὅς' Ἐκηβόλος ἐκτεάτισται,  
 μηδέ ποτ' ἐμπελάσειν πυκινῶι δόμῳ· αὐτὰρ  
 Ἀπόλλων  
 Λητοΐδης κατένευσεν ἐπ' ἀρθμῶι καὶ φιλότῃτι  
 525 μή τινα φίλτερον ἄλλον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσσεσθαι,  
 μήτε θεὸν μήτ' ἄνδρα Διὸς γόνον· “ἐκ δὲ τέλειον  
 σύμβολον ἀθανάτων ποιήσομαι †ἧδ' ἅμα πάντων  
 πιστὸν ἐμῶι θυμῶι καὶ τίμιον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 ὄλβον καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον  
 530 χρυσεῖην τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ἧ σε φυλάξει,  
 πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα θε<μ>οὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὁμφῆς.  
 μαντεῖην δέ, φέριστε διοτρεφές, ἧν ἐρεεῖνεις,  
 οὔτε σὲ θέσφατόν ἐστι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον  
 535 ἀθανάτων· τὸ γὰρ οἶδε Διὸς νόος, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γε  
 πιστωθεὶς κατένευσα καὶ ὤμοσα καρτερὸν ὄρκον,  
 μή τινα νόσφιν ἐμεῖο θεῶν αἰειγενετῶν  
 ἄλλόν γ' εἶσσεσθαι Ζηνὸς πυκινόφρονα βουλήν·  
 καὶ σύ, κασίγνητε χρυσόρραπι, μή με κέλευε  
 540 θέσφατα πιφάυσκειν, ὅσα μῆδεται εὐρύνοπα Ζεὺς.  
 ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄλλον δηλήσομαι, ἄλλον ὀνήσω,  
 πολλὰ περιτροπέων ἀμεγάρτων φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων·  
 καὶ μὲν ἐμῆς ὁμφῆς ἀπονήσεται, ὅς τις ἂν ἔλθῃ



#### 4. TO HERMES

Zeus, that you will perform property-switchings on men over the nurturing earth.<sup>38</sup> If you could bring yourself to swear the gods' great oath, either by nodding your head, or upon the dread Water of Shuddering, you would be acting entirely after my own heart."

Then Maia's son promised, and confirmed it with a nod, that he would never steal the property that the Far-shooter has, or go near his strong room. And Apollo, Leto's son, agreed in a compact of friendship that he would have no greater friend among the immortals, neither a god nor a man of Zeus' stock; "And I will make it a complete contract from all the immortals,<sup>39</sup> that I will trust and honor in my heart. Moreover, I will give you a beautiful wand of wealth and fortune, made of gold, trefoil; it will keep you safe from harm, fulfilling all the dispositions of good words and events that I claim to know from the utterance of Zeus. But as to the prophetic art, my dear nursling of Zeus, which you ask about, it is not destined that you should know it, nor any other of the immortals. That is known to the mind of Zeus, and I have agreed under pledge, and sworn a powerful oath, that none other of the eternal gods apart from me shall know Zeus' intricate intent; so you, my brother gold-wand, must not ask me to reveal the destinies that wide-sounding Zeus is contriving. As for humans, I shall harm one and profit another as I lead their countless peoples this way and that. He will profit from my utterance who comes

<sup>38</sup> In Alcaeus' hymn Hermes did steal Apollo's bow as well as his cattle.

<sup>39</sup> Text uncertain.



- φωνῇ τ' ἡδὲ ποτῆισι τεληέντων οἰωνῶν  
 545 οὔτος ἐμῆς ὀμφῆς ἀπονήσεται, οὐδ' ἀπατήσω·  
 ὃς δέ κε μαψιλόγοισι πιθήσας οἰωνοῖσιν  
 μαντείην ἐθέλησι πάρεκ νόον ἔξερεείναι  
 ἡμετέρην, νοέειν δὲ θεῶν πλέον αἰὲν ἐόντων,  
 φῆμ' ἀλίην ὁδὸν εἶσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κε δῶρα δεχοίμην.  
 550 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, Μαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱέ  
 καὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, θεῶν ἐριούνιε δαῖμον·  
 σεμναὶ γάρ τινές εἰσι κασίγνηται γεγανῖαι  
 παρθένοι, ὥκεῖνισιν ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερύγεσσιν,  
 τρεῖς· κατὰ δὲ κρατὸς πεπαλαγμέναι ἄλφιστα λευκά  
 555 οἰκία ναιετάουσιν ὑπὸ πτυχὶ Παρνησσοῖο,  
 μαντείης ἀπάνευθε διδάσκαλοι, ἣν ἐπὶ βουσὶν  
 παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν μελέτησα· πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν.  
 ἐντεῦθεν δῆπεια ποτώμεναι ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ  
 κηρία βόσκονται καὶ τε κραίνουσιν ἕκαστα·  
 560 αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν θνίωσιν ἐδηδυῖαι μέλι χλωρόν,  
 προφρονέως ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθείην ἀγορεύειν·  
 ἣν δ' ἀπονοσφισθῶσι θεῶν ἡδέϊαν ἐδωδῆν,  
 ψεύδονται δῆπεια δι' ἀλλήλων δονέουσαι.  
 τάς τοι ἔπειτα δίδωμι, σὺ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἐρεείνων

544 τ' ἡδεπότησι M: καὶ πτερύγεσσι Ψ

552 σεμναὶ M: μοῖραι Ψ: Θριαὶ Hermann

557 ἀλέγιζεν Hermann: ἀλέγυνεν Mfx, ἀλέγεινεν p

558 ἄλλοτε Schneidewin: ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' Ω

563 sic fere γ (δενέουσai: corr. Baumeister): πειρῶνται  
 δ' ἥπειτα παρὲξ ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν MΨ

#### 4. TO HERMES

on the cry or the flights of valid omen birds: that man will profit from my utterance, and I shall not deceive him. But he who puts his trust in omens of vain utterance, and wants to enquire after a prophecy beyond my intention, and to know more than the eternal gods, I declare he will journey for nothing, though I shall take his offerings. I will tell you something else, son of glorious Maia and goat-rider Zeus, courser-deity among the gods:<sup>40</sup> there are certain august maidens, sisters, adorned with swift wings; they are three in number, their heads are dusted with white barley meal, and they dwell down in a hollow of Parnassus. They are sources of separate prophecy, which I practised when still a child tending my cattle, but my father was not interested. From there they go flying now this way, now that, to feed on honeycombs, and make their authoritative pronouncements. When they speed on after consuming the yellow honey, they are favorable and will tell the truth, but if they are turned away from the sweet food of the gods, then they mislead, agitating among themselves. I give them to you for the future; question them accurately for your own

<sup>40</sup> The strange passage which follows seems to conflate (a) a trio of prophetesses on Parnassus known as the Thriai, who produced oracles by casting pebbles, and (b) a rustic form of divination in which honeycombs were put out for swarms of wild bees, and inferences were drawn from the direction in which they flew off. For the Thriai see Jacoby's commentary on Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 195; Frederick Williams, *Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford, 1978), 46 f. Their relevance is disputed by Susan Scheinberg, "The Bee Maidens of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*," *HSCP* 83 (1979), 1–28. See also Jennifer Larson, "The Corycian Nymphs and the Bee Maidens of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes," *GRBS* 36 (1995), 341–357.

565 σὴν αὐτοῦ φρένα τέρπε· καὶ εἰ βροτὸν ἄνδρα  
 δαείηις,  
 πολλάκι σῆς ὀμφῆς ἐπακούσεται, αἶ κε τύχησιν.  
 ταῦτ' ἔχε, Μαιάδος υἱέ, καὶ ἀγραύλους ἔλικας βοῦς,  
 ἵππους τ' ἀμφιπόλενε καὶ ἡμιόνους ταλαεργούς·"

καὶ χαροποῖσι λέουσι καὶ ἀργιόδουσι σύεσσιν  
 570 καὶ κυσὶ καὶ μήλοισιν, ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών,  
 πᾶσι δ' ἐπὶ προβάτοισιν ἀνάσσειν κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν·  
 οἶον δ' εἰς Ἀἶδην τετελεσμένον ἄγγελον εἶναι,  
 ὅς τ' ἄδοτός περ ἐὼν δώσει γέρας οὐκ ἐλάχιστον.  
 οὕτω Μαιάδος υἱὸν ἀναξ ἐφίλησεν Ἀπόλλων  
 575 παντοίῃ φιλότῃ, χάριν δ' ἐπέθηκε Κρονίων.  
 πᾶσι δ' ὃ γε θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμιλεῖ·  
 παῦρα μὲν οὖν ὀνύνησι, τὸ δ' ἄκριτον ἡπεροπεύει  
 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην φῦλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ·  
 580 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

## 5. ΕΙΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ

Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης  
 Κύπριδος, ἣ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἴμερον ὦρσεν  
 καὶ τ' ἐδαμάσσατο φῦλα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 οἰωνούς τε διειπετέας καὶ θηρία πάντα,  
 5 ἡμὲν ὅς' ἡπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἡδ' ὅσα πόντος·

568 lac. stat. Wolf

#### 4. TO HERMES

pleasure, and if you teach(?) a mortal man, he will often hearken to your utterance, with luck. Have these things for your own, son of Maia, and the curly-horned, field-dwelling cattle, and concern yourself also with horses and toiling mules."

<So spoke the son of Leto, the far-shooting lord Apollo. And Zeus confirmed all he had said; and he declared that Hermes should be the herald of the gods, and further that he should rule over animals: bears and grey wolves,<sup>>41</sup> and fierce lions and white-tusked boars, and dogs and sheep, all that the broad earth nourishes; and that glorious Hermes should be lord over all flocks; and that he alone should be empowered as envoy to Hades, who without receiving offerings will yet confer not the smallest of boons.

So the lord Apollo showed his love for the son of Maia in every way, and Kronos' son added his favor. He consorts with all mortals and immortals: rarely he brings them profit, while indiscriminately through the dark night he hoodwinks the peoples of mankind.

So I salute you, son of Zeus and Maia. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

#### 5. TO APHRODITE

Muse, tell me of the doings of Aphrodite rich in gold, the Cyprian goddess, who sends sweet longing upon the gods, and overcomes the peoples of mortal kind, and the birds that fly in heaven, and all the numerous creatures that the land and sea foster: all of them are concerned with the

<sup>41</sup> Some lines to this effect have apparently fallen out of the text.

πάσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἔϋστεφάνου Κυthereίης.  
 τρισσὰς δ' οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ'  
 ἀπατήσαι·

- κούρην τ' αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην,  
 οὐ γάρ οἱ εὔαδεν ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης,  
 10 ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε ἄδον καὶ ἔργον Ἄρης,  
 ὕσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε, καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν—  
 πρώτη τέκτονας ἄνδρας ἐπιχθονίους ἐδίδαξεν  
 ποιῆσαι σατίνας τε καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῶι·  
 ἧ δέ τε παρθενικὰς ἀπαλόχροας ἐν μεγάροισιν  
 15 ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θείσα ἐκάστη—  
 οὐδέ ποτ' Ἀρτέμιδα χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινὴν  
 δάμναται ἐν φιλότῃ φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ·  
 καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄδε τόξα καὶ οὔρεσι θῆρας ἐναίρειν  
 φόρμιγγές τε χοροὶ τε διαπρύσιοί τ' ὀλολυγαί  
 20 ἄλσεά τε σκιοῦντα δικαίων τε πύλοισι ἀνδρῶν·  
 οὐδὲ μὲν αἰδοίημι κούρῃ ἄδεν ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης  
 Ἰστίηι, ἣν πρώτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,  
 αὐτὶς δ' ὀπλοτάτην βουλῇ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,  
 πότνια, ἣν ἐμνῶντο Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων·  
 25 ἧ δὲ μάλ' οὐκ ἔθελεν, ἀλλὰ στερεῶς ἀπέειπεν,  
 ὦμοσε δὲ μέγαν ὄρκον, ὃ δὴ τετελεσμένος ἐστίν,  
 ἀψαμένη κεφαλῆς πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,  
 παρθένος ἔσσεσθαι πάντ' ἥματα διὰ θεάων.  
 τῇ δὲ πατὴρ Ζεὺς δῶκε καλὸν γέρας ἀντὶ γάμοιο,  
 30 καὶ τε μέσσωι οἴκῳ κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο πῖαρ ἐλοῦσα,

13 suppl. Barnes

## 5. TO APHRODITE

doings of fair-garlanded Cytherea.

But there are three whose minds she cannot persuade or outwit. There is the daughter of goat-rider Zeus, steely-eyed Athena, for she does not like the doings of Aphrodite rich in gold: she likes wars and the doings of Ares, battles and fights, and fine workmanship—she first taught joiners on earth to make carriages and chariots ornamented with bronze, and she taught fine workmanship to tender-skinned girls in their houses, putting it into each one's mind. Nor is Artemis of the gold shafts and view-halloo ever overcome in love by smile-loving Aphrodite, for she too likes other things, archery and hunting animals in the mountains, lyres, dances, and piercing yells, shady groves, and a community of righteous men. Nor yet do the doings of Aphrodite appeal to the modest maiden Hestia, the first child of crooked-schemer Kronos, and also the youngest through the designs of goat-rider Zeus;<sup>42</sup> lady courted by Poseidon and Apollo, but she was not willing, she firmly refused them, and swore a great oath (which has indeed been kept), touching the head of her father, goat-rider Zeus, that she would be a virgin for all time, the noble goddess. And her father Zeus granted her a fine privilege instead of marriage, and she took fat and seated herself down in mid

<sup>42</sup> According to Hesiod, *Theogony* 459–500, Kronos swallowed his children as they were born, except for Zeus, whom Rhea smuggled away. When Zeus grew up, he forced Kronos to disgorge the swallowed gods, and they reappeared in reverse order, Hestia coming out last.

πάσιν δ' ἐν νηοῖσι θεῶν τιμάοχος ἐστίν  
καὶ παρὰ πάσι βροτοῖσι θεῶν πρέσβειρα τέτυκται.

τάων οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατήσai  
τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ πέρ τι πεφυγμένον ἔστ' Ἀφροδίτην

35 οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

καί τε πάρεκ Ζηνὸς νόον ἤγαγε τερπικεραύνου,  
ὅς τε μέγιστός τ' ἐστὶ μέγιστης τ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς·  
καί τε τοῦ εὖτ' ἐθέλοι πυκινὰς φρένας ἔξαπαφούσα  
ῥηϊδίως συνέμειξε καταθνητῇσι γυναιξίν,

40 Ἥρης ἐκλελαθοῦσα κασιγνήτης ἀλόχου τε,  
ἣ μέγα εἶδος ἀρίστη ἐν ἀθανάτησι θεῇσιν,  
κυδίστην δ' ἄρα μιν τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης  
μήτηρ τε Ῥεΐη· Ζεὺς δ' ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδὼς  
αἰδοίην ἄλοχον ποιήσατο κέδν' εἰδυῖαν.

45 τῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ Ζεὺς γλυκὺν ἥμερον ἔμβαλε  
θυμῶι

ἀνδρὶ καταθνητῶι μιχθήμεναι, ὄφρα τάχιστα  
μηδ' αὐτῇ βροτέης εὐνῆς ἀποεργμένη εἴη  
καί ποτ' ἐπευξαμένη εἵπηι μετὰ πάσι θεοῖσιν  
ἡδὺ γελοήσασα φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη,

50 ὥς ῥα θεοὺς συνέμειξε καταθνητῇσι γυναιξίν

καί τε καταθνητοὺς νιεῖς τέκον ἀθανάτοισιν,  
ὥς τε θεὰς ἀνέμειξε καταθνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Ἀγχίσεω δ' ἄρα οἱ γλυκὺν ἥμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῶι,  
ὅς τότε ἐν ἀκροπόλοισι ὄρεσιν πολυπίδακος Ἰδῆς

55 βουκολέεσκεν βούς, δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν εἰκώς.

38 ἐθέλη M



## 5. TO APHRODITE

house;<sup>43</sup> in all shrines of the gods she enjoys honor, and with all mortals she is senior goddess.

Those are the goddesses whose minds she cannot persuade or outwit. But for the rest, nothing has escaped Aphrodite, either of the blessed gods or of mortal men. She even led astray the mind of Zeus whose sport is the thunderbolt, who is the greatest and has the greatest honor as his portion: even his intricate mind she deceived when she liked, and easily coupled him with mortal women, putting out of his mind Hera his sister and consort, who is much the finest of aspect among the immortal goddesses, the most glorious daughter of crooked-schemer Kronos and her mother Rhea, and Zeus whose counsels do not fade made her his reverend consort, dutiful as she is.

But Zeus cast a sweet longing into Aphrodite's own heart to couple with a mortal man; he wanted to bring it about as soon as possible that not even she was set apart from a mortal bed, to boast among the assembled gods with a merry laugh how she had coupled gods with mortal women, and they had borne mortal sons to immortal fathers, and how she had coupled goddesses with mortal men. So he cast into her heart a sweet longing for Anchises, who at that time tended cattle on the heights of Ida with its many springs, in build like the immortals.

<sup>43</sup> Hestia is the goddess of the hearth fire at the centre of the house, and she receives the fat that drips down when cuts of a sacrificed animal are roasted.



τὸν δ' ἤπειτα ἰδοῦσα φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ  
ἡράσατ', ἐκπάγλως δὲ κατὰ φρένας ἵμερος εἶλεν.

- ἔς Κύπρον δ' ἐλθοῦσα θυώδεα νηὸν ἔδυνεν,  
ἔς Πάφον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυώδης·  
60 ἔνθ' ἢ γ' εἰσελθοῦσα θύρας ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς,  
ἔνθα δέ μιν Χάριτες λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν ἐλαίῳ  
ἄμβρότῳ, οἷα θεοὺς ἐπενήνοθεν αἰὲν εὐόντας,  
ἄμβροσίῳ ἐκδ' ἀνῶι, τό ρά οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν.  
ἔσσαμένη δ' εὖ πάντα περὶ χροῖ εἶματα καλά,  
65 χρυσῶι κοσμηθεῖσα φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ  
σεύατ' ἐπὶ Τροίης, προλιποῦσ' εὐώδεα Κύπρον,  
ἤπι μετὰ νέφεσιν ρίμφα πρήσσοις κέλευθον.

- Ἰδὼν δ' ἴκανε πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν,  
βῆ δ' ἰθὺς σταθμοῖο δι' οὖρεος· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν  
70 σαίνοντες πολιοὶ τε λύκοι χαροποὶ τε λέοντες  
ἄρκτοι παρδάλιές τε θοαὶ προκάδων ἀκόρητοι  
ἦϊσαν· ἢ δ' ὁρώσῃ μετὰ φρεσὶ τέρπετο θυμόν,  
καὶ τοῖς ἐν στήθεσσι βάλ' ἵμερον, οἱ δ' ἅμα πάντες  
σύνδνο κοιμήσαντο κατὰ σκιόεντας ἐναύλους.  
75 αὐτὴ δ' ἔς κλισίας εὐποιήτους ἀφίκανε·  
τὸν δ' ἠῦρε σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένον οἶον ἀπ' ἄλλων  
Ἀγχίστην ἥρωα θεῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχοντα·  
οἱ δ' ἅμα βουσὶν ἔποντο νομοὺς κάτα ποιήεντας  
πάντες, ὃ δὲ σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένος οἶος ἀπ' ἄλλων  
80 πωλεῖτ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, διαπρύσιον κιθαρίζων.  
στή δ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτῃ,  
παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίῃ,  
μή μιν ταρβήσειεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας.

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Thereupon smile-loving Aphrodite fell in love with him at sight, and immoderate longing seized her mind.

Going to Cyprus, to Paphos, she disappeared into her fragrant temple; it is there that she has her precinct and scented altar. There she went in, and closed the gleaming doors, and there the Graces bathed her and rubbed her with olive oil, divine oil, as blooms upon the eternal gods, ambrosial bridal oil that she had ready perfumed. Her body well clad in all her fine garments, adorned with gold, smile-loving Aphrodite left fragrant Cyprus and sped towards Troy, rapidly making her way high among the clouds.

She reached Ida with its many springs, mother of wild creatures, and went straight for the steading across the mountain, while after her went fawning the grey wolves and fierce-eyed lions, bears and swift leopards insatiable for deer. Seeing them, she was glad at heart; in their breasts too she cast longing, and they all lay down in pairs in their shadowy haunts. She herself came to the sturdy huts, and found him left all alone in the steading, the manly Anchises who had his beauty from the gods; the others were all following the cattle over the grassy pastures, while he, left all alone in the steading, was going about this way and that, playing loudly on a lyre. Zeus' daughter Aphrodite stood before him, like an unmarried girl in stature and appearance, so that he should not be afraid when his eyes fell on her. Anchises gazed and took

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63 ἔδανωι Clarke: ἐανῶ Ω

66 Κύπρον Ψ: κῆπον Μ

- Ἀγχίσης δ' ὀρόων ἐφράζετο θαύμαινέν τε  
 85 εἰδός τε μέγεθός τε καὶ εἴματα σιγαλόεντα.  
 πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἔεστο φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς,  
 εἶχε δ' ἐπιγναμπτὰς ἑλικας κάλυκας τε φαεινάς,  
 ὄρμοι δ' ἄμφ' ἀπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν  
 καλοὶ χρύσειοι παμποίκιλοι· ὥς δὲ σελήνη  
 90 στήθεσιν ἄμφ' ἀπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο, θαῦμα ιδέσθαι.  
 Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν, ἔπος δέ μιν ἀντίον ἠΐδα·  
 “χαῖρε, ἄνασσ', ἣ τις μακάρων τάδε δώμαθ'  
 ἰκάνεις,  
 Ἄρτεμις ἧ Δητὼ ἧὲ χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ  
 ἧ Θέμει ἠϋγενῆς ἧὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνῃ  
 95 ἧ πού τις Χαρίτων δεῦρ' ἤλυθες, αἶ τε θεοῖσιν  
 πᾶσιν ἐταιρίζουσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται,  
 ἧ τις νυμφάων, αἶ τ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται,  
 {ἧ νυμφῶν αἶ καλὸν ὄρος τόδε ναιετάουσιν}  
 καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα.  
 100 σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐν σκοπιῇ, περιφαινομένω ἐνὶ χώρῳ,  
 βωμὸν ποιήσω, ῥέξω δέ τοι ἱερὰ καλὰ  
 ὦρησιν πάσησιν· σὺ δ' εὖφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσα  
 δός με μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ἀριπρεπέ' ἔμμεναι ἄνδρα,  
 ποίει δ' εἰσοπίσω θαλερὸν γόνον, αὐτὰρ ἔμ' αὐτόν  
 105 δηρὸν ἔϋ ζώειν καὶ ὀρᾶν φάος ἡελίοιο  
 ὄλβιον ἐν λαοῖς καὶ γήραος οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι.”  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη·  
 “Ἀγχίση, κύδιστε χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων,  
 οὐ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτησιν εἴσκεις;  
 110 ἀλλὰ καταθνητὴ τέ, γυνὴ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ.

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stock of her, wondering at her appearance, her stature, and her shining garments; for she wore a dress brighter than firelight, and she had twisted bracelets and shining ear buds. Round her tender neck there were beautiful necklaces of gold, most elaborate, and about her tender breasts it shone like the moon, a wonder to behold. Anchises was seized by desire, and he addressed her face to face:

“Hail, Lady, whichever of the blessed ones you are that arrive at this dwelling, Artemis or Leto or golden Aphrodite, high-born Themis or steely-eyed Athena; or perhaps you are one of the Graces come here, who are companions to all the gods and are called immortal; or one of the nymphs, who haunt the fair groves<sup>44</sup> and the waters of rivers and the grassy meads. I will build you an altar on a hilltop, in a conspicuous place, and make goodly sacrifices to you at every due season. Only have a kindly heart, and grant that I may be a man outstanding among the Trojans, and make my future offspring healthy, and myself to live long and well, seeing the light of the sun and enjoying good fortune among the peoples, and to reach the doorstep of old age.”

Zeus' daughter Aphrodite answered him: “Anchises, most glorious of earthborn men, I am no goddess—why do you compare me with the immortals?—but a mortal, and the mother who bore me was a woman. My father is the

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<sup>44</sup> Here the manuscripts add another line which seems to be a variant: ‘or of the nymphs who dwell on this fair mountain.’

- Ὅτρεὺς δ' ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὀνομάκλυτος, εἴ που ἀκούεις,  
 ὃς πάσης Φρυγίης εὐτειχέτοιο ἀνάσσει.  
 γλῶσσαν δ' ὑμετέρην <τε> καὶ ἡμετέρην σάφα οἶδα·  
 Τρωιάς γὰρ μεγάρωι με τροφὸς τρέφεν ἠδὲ διάπρο  
 115 σμικρὴν παῖδ' ἀτίταλλε φίλης παρὰ μητρὸς  
 ἐλούσα·  
 ὧς δὴ τοι γλῶσσάν γε καὶ ὑμετέρην εὖ οἶδα.  
 νῦν δέ μ' ἀνήρπαξε χρυσόρραπισ Ἀργειφόντης  
 ἐκ χοροῦ Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακάτου κελαδαινῆς.  
 120 πολλαὶ δὲ νύμφαι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι  
 παίζομεν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὄμιλος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο·  
 ἔνθεν μ' ἥρπαξε χρυσόρραπισ Ἀργειφόντης,  
 πολλὰ δ' ἐπ' ἤγαγεν ἔργα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 πολλὴν δ' ἄκληρόν τε καὶ ἄκτιτον, ἣν διὰ θῆρες  
 ὠμοφάγοι φοιτῶσι κατὰ σκιόεντας ἐναύλους,  
 125 οὐδὲ ποσὶ ψαύειν δόκεον φυσιζόου αἴης·  
 Ἀγχίσεω δέ με φάσκε παρὰι λέχεσιν καλέεσθαι  
 κουριδίην ἄλοχον, σοὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ τέκνα τεκεῖσθαι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ δείξε καὶ ἔφρασεν, ἥτοι ὃ γ' αὖτις  
 ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλ' ἀπέβη κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης·  
 130 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σ' ἰκόμην, κρατερὴ δέ μοι ἔπλετ'  
 ἀνάγκη.  
 ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι ἠδὲ τοκῆων  
 ἐσθλῶν· οὐ μὲν γάρ κε κακοὶ τοιόνδε τέκοιεν·  
 ἀδμήτην μ' ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἀπειρήτην φιλότῃτος  
 πατρί τε σῶι δείξον καὶ μητέρι κεδν' εἰδυίῃ  
 135 σοῖς τε κασιγνήτοισι, οἳ τοι ὁμόθεν γεγάασιν·  
 οὗ σφιν ἀεικελίη νυὸς ἔσσομαι, ἀλλ' εἰκνῖα.

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famed Otreus, if you have perhaps heard of him, who rules over all of well-walled Phrygia.<sup>45</sup> But I know your language as well as ours, because a Trojan nurse nursed me at home and reared me throughout my childhood, taking me over from my dear mother; so I am well acquainted with your language too.<sup>46</sup> But now the gold-wand Argus-slayer has snatched me up from the dance to Artemis of the gold shafts and the view-halloo. There were many of us dancing, brides and marriageable girls, and a vast crowd ringed us about: from there the gold-wand Argus-slayer snatched me, and brought me over much farmland of mortal men, and much ownerless and uncultivated land where ravening beasts roam about their shadowy haunts; I felt that my feet were not touching the grain-growing earth. He told me I should be known as the young wife of Anchises' bed, and bear you splendid children. After showing me the way and pointing you out, the mighty Argus-slayer went off to rejoin the families of the immortals, while I have come to you, forced by necessity. Now I beseech you by Zeus and your noble parents (no humble people would have produced such a child as you): take me, a virgin with no experience of love, and show me to your father and your dutiful mother, and your brothers born of the same stock; I shall not be an unfitting daughter-in-law for them, but a fit one.

<sup>45</sup> Otreus is mentioned in *Iliad* 3.186 as a Phrygian chieftain whom Priam assisted on the occasion of an Amazon invasion.

<sup>46</sup> This is the earliest reference in Greek to bilingualism.

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113 τε add. Wolf

116 γε Hermann: τε Ω

125 δόκειν La Roche: ἐδόκουν Ω

- πέμψαι δ' ἄγγελον ὦκα μετὰ Φρύγας αἰολοπώλους,  
 εἰπεῖν πατρί τ' ἐμῶι καὶ μητέρι κηδομένῃ περ·  
 οἱ δέ κέ <τοι> χρυσόν τε ἄλῃς ἐσθῆτά θ' ὑφαντήν  
 140 πέμψουσιν, σὺ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα.  
 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δαίνυν γάμον ἱμερόεντα  
 τίμιον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.”  
 ὥς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἕμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῶι.  
 Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ'  
 ὀνόμαζεν·  
 145 “εἰ μὲν θνητὴ τ' ἐσσί, γυνὴ δέ σε γείνατο μήτηρ,  
 Ὀτρεὺς δ' ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὀνομάκλυτος, ὥς ἀγορεύεις,  
 ἀθανάτου δὲ ἔκητι διακτόρου ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις  
 Ἑρμέω, ἐμὴ δ' ἄλοχος κεκλήσεται ἥματα πάντα·  
 οὐ τις ἔπειτα θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 150 ἐνθάδε με σχήσει πρὶν σῇ φιλότῃ μιγῆναι  
 αὐτίκα νῦν, οὐδ' εἴ κεν ἐκηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων  
 τόξου ἅπ' ἀργυρέου προΐῃ βέλεα στονόεντα·  
 βουλοίμην κεν ἔπειτα, γύναι εἰκυῖα θεῇσιν,  
 σῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβὰς δύναι δόμον Ἀΐδος εἴσω.”  
 155 ὥς εἰπὼν λάβε χεῖρα· φιλομμειδῆς δ' Ἀφροδίτῃ  
 ἔρπε μεταστρεφθεῖσα, κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα,  
 ἐς λέχος εὔστρωτον, ὅθι περ πάρος ἔσκειν ἄνακτι  
 χλαίνησιν μαλακῆις ἐστρωμένον· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν  
 ἄρκτων δέρματ' ἔκειτο βαρυφθόγγων τε λεόντων,  
 160 τοὺς αὐτὸς κατέπεφνεν ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν λεχέων εὐποιήτων ἐπέβησαν,  
 κόσμον μὲν οἱ πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροὸς εἶλε φαεινόν,



## 5. TO APHRODITE

And send a messenger quickly to the Phrygians of the darting steeds, to tell my father and my anxious mother. They will send you gold in plenty and woven cloth, and you must accept the many fine dowry gifts. When you have done that, hold a delightful wedding-feast that will impress men and immortal gods."

With these words the goddess cast sweet longing into his heart. Anchises was seized by desire, and he spoke and addressed her: "If you are a mortal, and the mother who bore you was a woman, and your father is the famed Otreus, as you say, and you have come here by the will of the immortal go-between Hermes, and you are to be known as my wife for ever, then no god or mortal man is going to hold me back from making love to you right now, not even if far-shooting Apollo himself discharges baleful arrows from his silver bow: I should choose in that case, O woman like a goddess, after once mounting your bed, to go down into the house of Hades."

With these words he took her hand, and smile-loving Aphrodite, casting her lovely eyes down, turned and moved to the well-bedecked bed, where the lord kept it spread with soft blankets, on top of which lay skins of bears and roaring lions that he himself had killed in the high mountains. When they had mounted the sturdy bed, he first removed the shining adornment from her body, the

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139 *κέ τολ . . . τε* Matthiae: *κε . . . τε* M: *τε . . . κε* Ψ



πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἑλικας κάλυκάς τε καὶ  
ὄρμους,

λῦσε δέ οἱ ζώνην, ἰδὲ εἵματα σιγαλόεντα

- 165 ἔκδυε καὶ κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῆλου  
Ἀγχίσης· ὃ δ' ἔπειτα θεῶν ἰότητι καὶ αἴσῃ  
ἀθανάτῃ παρέλεκτο θεῇ βροτός, οὐ σάφα εἰδώς.

ἦμος δ' ἄψ εἰς αὖλιν ἀποκλίνουσι νομῆς  
βοῦς τε καὶ ἵφια μῆλα νομῶν ἐξ ἀνθεμοέντων,

- 170 τῆμος ἄρ' Ἀγχίσει μὲν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἔχευεν  
νῆδυμον, αὐτὴ δὲ χροὶ ἔννυτο εἵματα καλά.

ἔσσαμένη δ' εὖ πάντα περὶ χροὶ διὰ θεάων  
ἔστη ἄρα κλισίῃ· εὐποιήτου <δὲ> μελάθρου  
κῦρε κάρη, κάλλος δὲ παρειάων ἀπέλαμπεν

- 175 ἄμβροτον, οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν ἐϋστεφάνου Κυthereίης·  
ἐξ ὕπνου τ' ἀνέγειρεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·

“ὄρσεο, Δαρδαιίδη· τί νυ νήγρετον ὕπνον ἱαύεις;  
καὶ φράσαι, εἴ τοι ὁμοίῃ ἐγὼν ἰνδάλλομαι εἶναι,  
οἷην δὴ με τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νόησας.”

- 180 ὥς φάθ'· ὃ δ' ἐξ ὕπνοιο μάλ' ἐμπαπέως  
ὑπάκουσεν.

ὥς δὲ ἶδεν δειρήν τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' Ἀφροδίτης,  
τάρβησέν τε καὶ ὅσσε παρακλιδὸν ἔτραπεν ἄλλῃ,  
ἄψ δ' αὖτις χλαίνῃ ἐκαλύψατο καλὰ πρόσωπα.  
καὶ μιν λισσόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

- 185 “αὐτίκα σ' ὥς τὰ πρῶτα, θεά, ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,  
ἔγνων ὥς θεὸς ἦσθα· σὺ δ' οὐ νημερτὲς εἶπες.  
ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι αἰγιόχοιο,  
μή με ζῶντ' ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάσης

## 5. TO APHRODITE

pins and twisted bracelets and ear buds and necklaces; he undid her girdle, and divested her of her gleaming garments and laid them on a silver-riveted chair. And then Anchises by divine will and destiny lay with the immortal goddess, the mortal, not knowing the truth of it.

At the hour when herdsmen turn their cattle and fat sheep back to the steading from the flowery pastures, then she poured a sweet, peaceful sleep upon Anchises, while she dressed herself in her fine garments. Her body well clad in them all, the noble goddess stood in the hut—her head reached to the sturdy rafter, while from her cheeks shone a divine beauty, such as belongs to fair-garlanded Cytherea—and roused him from sleep, and spoke and addressed him:

“Be up, descendant of Dardanus—why do you slumber in unbroken sleep?—and mark whether I look to you like I did when you first set eyes on me.”

So she spoke, and he responded promptly from out of his sleep. But when he saw the neck and lovely eyes of Aphrodite, he was afraid, and averted his gaze, and covered his handsome face up again in the blanket, and begged her with winged words:

“As soon as I first saw you, goddess, I realized you were a deity, but you did not tell the truth. Now I beseech you by Zeus the goat-rider, do not leave me to dwell among man-

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173 *εὐποιήτου* δὲ Ruhnkenius: -τοιο Ω

175 *ἵοσσεφάνου* M

183 *ἐκαλύψατο* West: τ' ἐκαλ- (vel τε καλ-) Ω

- ναίειν, ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρ'· ἐπεὶ οὐ βιοθάλμιος ἀνὴρ  
 190 γίνεται, ὅς τε θεαῖς εὐνάζεται ἀθανάτησιν.”  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη·  
 “Αγχίση, κύδιστε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 θάρσει, μηδέ τι σῆσι μετὰ φρεσὶ δείδιθι λήην·  
 οὐ γάρ τοί τι δέος παθέειν κακὸν ἐξ ἐμέθεν γε  
 195 οὐδ' ἄλλων μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἦ φίλος ἐσσὶ θεοῖσιν.  
 σοὶ δ' ἔσται φίλος υἱός, ὃς ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει  
 καὶ παῖδες παίδεσσι διαμπερὲς ἐκγεγάοντες·  
 τῶι δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας ὄνομ' ἔσσεται, οὐνεκά μ' αἰνόν  
 ἔσχεν ἄχος, ἔνεκα βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμπεσον εὐνήι.  
 200 ἀγχίθιοι δὲ μάλιστα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 αἰεὶ ἀφ' ὑμετέρης γενεῆς εἰδὸς τε φυνὴν τε·  
 ἦτοι μὲν ξανθὸν Γανυμήδεα μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 ἥρπασεν ὃν διὰ κάλλος, ἔν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη  
 καὶ τε Διὸς κατὰ δῶμα θεοῖς ἐπιεινοχοεῖοι,  
 205 θαῦμα ἰδεῖν, πάντεσσι τετιμένος ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 χρυσεῦ ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσω νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν.  
 Τρῶα δὲ πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχε φρένας, οὐδέ τι ἥιδει  
 ὅππῃ οἱ φίλον υἱὸν ἀνήρπασε θέσπις ἄελλα·  
 τὸν δῆπειτα γόασκε διαμπερὲς ἤματα πάντα.  
 210 καί μιν Ζεὺς ἐλέησε, δίδου δέ οἱ υἱὸς ἄποινα  
 ἵππους ἀρσίποδας, τοί τ' ἀθανάτους φορέουσιν·  
 τοὺς οἱ δῶρον ἔδωκεν ἔχειν, εἰπέν τε ἕκαστα  
 Ζηνὸς ἐφημοσύνησι διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης,  
 ὥς ἔοι ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως ἴσα θεοῖσιν.  
 215 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ Ζηνὸς ὃ γ' ἐκλυεν ἀγγελιάων,

## 5. TO APHRODITE

kind as a living invalid, but be merciful; for a man does not enjoy vital vigor who goes to bed with immortal goddesses."

Zeus' daughter Aphrodite answered him: "Anchises, most glorious of mortal men, be of good courage, and let your heart not be too afraid. You need have no fear of suffering any harm from me or the other blessed ones, for you are dear to the gods indeed. You are to have a dear son who will rule among the Trojans, as will the children born to his children continually; his name shall be Aeneas (*Aineias*), because an *ainon akhos* (terrible sorrow) took me, that I fell into a mortal man's bed. Of all humankind, those close to the gods in appearance and stature always come especially from your family. Flaxen-haired Ganymede was seized by resourceful Zeus because of his beauty, so that he should be among the immortals and serve drink to the gods in Zeus' house, a wonder to see, esteemed by all the immortals as he draws the red nectar from the golden bowl. As for Tros,<sup>47</sup> nagging grief possessed his heart; he did not know which way the miraculous whirlwind had snatched up his dear son, and he went on lamenting him day after day. Zeus took pity on him, and to compensate for his son he gave him prancing horses, of the breed that carry the immortals: those he gave him to keep, and on Zeus' instructions the go-between, the Argus-slayer, explained everything, how Ganymede was immortal and unaging just like the gods. When he heard Zeus' message, he stopped

<sup>47</sup> Legendary ancestor of the Trojans (*Troes*).

- οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα γόασκε, γεγήθει δὲ φρένας ἔνδον,  
 γηθόσυνος δ' ἵπποισιν ἀλλοπόδεσσιν ὀχέιτο.  
 ὥς δ' αὖ Τιθωνὸν χρυσόθρονος ἤρπασεν Ἥως  
 ὑμετέρης γενεῆς, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν·
- 220 βῆ δ' ἵμεν αἰτήσουσα κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα  
 ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζῶειν ἥματα πάντα·  
 τῇ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐπένευσε καὶ ἐκρήνηεν ἐέλδωρ·  
 νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσὶ πότνια Ἥως  
 ἥβην αἰτῆσαι ξῦσαί τ' ἄπο γῆρας ὀλοίων.
- 225 τὸν δ' ἦτοι εἴως μὲν ἔχεν πολυήρατος ἥβη,  
 Ἥοι τερπόμενος χρυσοθρόνῳ ἠριγενεΐη  
 ναῖε παρ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοῆις ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πρῶται πολιαί κατέχυντο ἔθειραι  
 καλῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς εὐηγενέος τε γενείου,
- 230 τοῦ δ' ἦτοι εὐνῆς μὲν ἀπείχετο πότνια Ἥως,  
 αὐτὸν δ' αὖτ' ἀτίταλλεν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔχουσα  
 σίτῳ τ' ἀμβροσίῃ τε καὶ εἶματα καλὰ διδούσα.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πάμπαν στυγερὸν κατὰ γῆρας ἔπειγεν,  
 οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων δύνατ' οὐδ' ἀναεῖραι,
- 235 ἥδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή·  
 ἐν θαλάμῳ κατέθηκε, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς.  
 τοῦ δ' ἦτοι φωνὴ ῥέει ἄσπετος, οὐδέ τι κῖκυσ  
 ἔσθ' οἷα πάρος ἔσκειν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν.  
 “οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γε σὲ τοῖον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἐλοίμην
- 240 ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζῶειν ἥματα πάντα·  
 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τοιοῦτος ἐὼν εἰδός τε δέμας τε  
 ζώοις ἡμέτερός τε πόσις κεκλημένος εἴης,

## 5. TO APHRODITE

lamenting, and was glad in his heart, and in gladness he took to riding with the storm-footed horses. So again Tithonus was seized by golden-throned Dawn from your family, a man like the immortals. She went to ask the dark-cloud son of Kronos for him to be immortal and live for ever, and Zeus assented and fulfilled her wish—foolish lady Dawn, she did not think to ask for youth for him, and the stripping away of baneful old age. So long as lovely youth possessed him, he took his delight in Dawn of the golden throne, the early-born, and dwelt by the waters of Ocean at the ends of the earth; but when the first scattering of grey hairs came forth from his handsome head and his noble chin, the lady Dawn stayed away from his bed, but kept him in her mansion and nurtured him with food and ambrosia, and gave him fine clothing. And when repulsive old age pressed fully upon him, and he could not move or lift any of his limbs, this is what she decided was the best course: she laid him away in a chamber, and shut its shining doors. His voice still runs on unceasing, but there is none of the strength that there used to be in his bent limbs.<sup>48</sup>

“I would not choose for you to be like that among the gods, to be immortal and live for ever. If you could go on living as you are now in appearance and build, and be known as my husband, sorrow would not then enfold my

<sup>48</sup> This account seems to hint at the myth, first attested in Hellanicus (fr. 140 Fowler), that Tithonus became a cicada. Cicadas begin to be noisy around dawn.

οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτά μ' ἄχος πυκινὰς φρένας  
ἀμφικαλύπτει.

- νῦν δὲ σὲ μὲν τάχα γῆρας ὁμοῖον ἀμφικαλύψει  
245 νηλιές, τό τ' ἔπειτα παρίσταται ἀνθρώποισιν,  
οὐλόμενον καματηρόν, ὃ τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ,  
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μέγ' ὄνειδος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν  
ἔσσεται ἥματα πάντα διαμπερὲς εἵνεκα σείω,  
οἳ πρὶν ἐμοὺς δάρους καὶ μήτιας, αἷς ποτε πάντας  
250 ἀθανάτους συνέμειξα καταθνητῆσι γυναιξίν,  
τάρβεσκον· πάντας γὰρ ἐμὸν δάμνασκε νόημα·  
νῦν δὲ δὴ οὐκέτι μοι στόμα χεῖσεται ἐξονομήναι  
τοῦτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀάσθην,  
σχέτλιον, οὐκ ὀνομαστόν, ἀπεπλάγχθην δὲ νόοιο,  
255 παῖδα δ' ὑπὸ ζώνῃ ἐθέμην βροτῶι εὐνηθείσα.

- “τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἴδῃ φάος ἡελίοιο,  
νύμφαί μιν θρέψουσιν ὀρεσκῶιοι βαθύκολποι,  
αἱ τόδε ναιετάουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε·  
αἱ ῥ' οὔτε θνητοῖς οὔτ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔπονται.  
260 δηρὸν μὲν ζώουσι καὶ ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν,  
καί τε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι καλὸν χορὸν ἐρρώσαντο,  
τῆσι δὲ Σειληνοὶ τε καὶ εὖσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης  
μίσγοντ' ἐν φιλότῃ μυχῶι σπείων ἐροέντων.  
τῆσι δ' αἶμ' ἡ ἐλάται ἡ δὲ δρύες ὑψικάρῃνοι  
265 γεινομένησιν ἔφυσαν ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτιανείρῃ·  
καλαὶ τηλεθάουσαι ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν  
ἐστᾶσ' ἡλίβατοι, τεμένη δέ ἐ κικλήσκουσιν  
ἀθανάτων· τὰς δ' οὔ τι βροτοὶ κείρουσι σιδήρῳι.  
ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ μοῖρα παρεστήκη θανάτοιο,



## 5. TO APHRODITE

subtle mind. But as it is, you will soon be enfolded by hostile, merciless old age, which attends men in the time to come, accursed, wearisome, abhorred by the gods; while I shall suffer great reproach among the gods evermore on your account. Formerly they used to be afraid of my whisperings and wiles, with which at one time or another I have coupled all the immortals with mortal women, for my will would overcome them all. But now my mouth will no longer open wide enough to mention this among the immortals, since I have been led very far astray, awfully and unutterably, gone out of my mind, and got a child under my girdle after going to bed with a mortal.

“As for him, once he sees the sunlight, he will be nursed by the deep-bosomed, mountain-couching nymphs who dwell on this great and holy mountain, who belong with neither mortals nor gods. They have long lives, and eat divine food, and step the fair dance with the immortals; Sileni and the keen-sighted Argus-slayer unite in love with them in the recesses of lovely caves. As they are born, fir trees or tall oaks come forth on the earth that feeds mankind: fine and healthy they stand towering in the high mountains, and people call them precincts of the gods, and mortals do not cut them with the axe. But when their fated

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252 στόμα χείσεται Martin: στοναχήσεται Ω

254 ὀνομαστόν Martin: ὀνότατον Ω



- 270 ἄζάνεται μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ δένδρεα καλά,  
 φλοιὸς δ' ἀμφιπεριφθινύθει, πίπτουσι δ' ἅπ' ὄζοι,  
 τῶν δέ θ' ὁμοῦ ψυχὴ λείπει φάος ἡέλιοιο.  
 "αἱ μὲν ἐμὸν θρέψουσι παρὰ σφίσιν υἱὸν ἔχουσαι·  
 τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἔλῃ πολυήρατος ἦβη,  
 275 ἄξουσίν τοι δεῦρο θεαὶ δείξουσί τε παῖδα.  
 σοὶ δ' ἐγώ, ὄφρα <κε> ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ πάντα  
 διέλθω,  
 ἐς πέμπτον ἔτος αὖτις ἐλεύσομαι υἱὸν ἄγουσα.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἴδῃς θάλος ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,  
 γηθήσεις ὁρώων· μάλα γὰρ θεοεἰκελός ἔσται·  
 280 ἄξεις δ' αὐτίκα μιν ποτὶ Ἴλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν.  
 ἦν δέ τις εἴρηταί σε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 ἦ τις σοὶ φίλον υἱὸν ὑπὸ ζώνῃ θέτο μήτηρ,  
 τῷ δέ σὺν μυθεῖσθαι μεμνημένος ὥς σε κελεύω·  
 φάσθαι τοι νύμφης καλυκώπιδος ἔκγονον εἶναι,  
 285 αἱ τόδε ναιετάουσιν ὄρος καταειμένον ὕληι.  
 εἰ δέ κεν ἐξείπῃς καὶ ἐπεύξῃαι ἄφρονι θυμῷ  
 ἐν φιλότῃ μιγῆναι ἐϋστεφάνῳ Κυthereίῃ,  
 Ζεὺς σε χολωσάμενος βαλέει ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ.  
 εἴρηταί τοι πάντα· σὺν δέ φρεσὶ σῆισι νοήσας  
 290 ἴσχεο, μηδ' ὀνόμεινε, θεῶν δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν."  
 ὥς εἰποῦς· ἦϊξε πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἡνεμόεντα.

272 θ' Hermann: χ' Ω

274-5 del. Matthiae

276 <κε> ταῦτα Barnes: τ<οι> αὖ τὰ Kamerbeek δαήης  
 Schneidewin 280 μιν Hermann: νιν Ψ, νῦν M  
 284 φάσθαι Matthiae: φασίν Ω

## 5. TO APHRODITE

death is at hand, first the fair trees wither where they stand, their bark decays about them, their branches fall off, and simultaneously the nymphs' souls depart from the sunlight.

"They will keep my son among them and nurse him.<sup>49</sup> As soon as the lovely prime of youth possesses him, the goddesses will bring him here to you and show you your son. As soon as you set eyes on your scion, you will rejoice as you look on him, for he will be quite godlike. You will take him straight away to windy Ilios. If anyone asks you who was the mother that got your dear son under her girdle, be sure to answer him as I tell you: say he is the child of a nymph with eyes like buds, one of those who dwell on this forest-clad mountain. But if you speak out and foolishly boast of having united in love with fair-garlanded Cytherea, Zeus will be angry and will strike you with a smoking bolt.<sup>50</sup> There, I have told you everything. Take note of it, restrain yourself from mentioning me, and have regard for the gods' wrath."

With these words she sped away to the winds of heaven.

<sup>49</sup> Two alternate versions of the next sentence are transmitted. The second—"And I (to go over all this in my mind) will come to you again in the fifth year from now, bringing your son."—is the better, though the phrase translated as 'to go over all this in my mind' is difficult and perhaps corrupt.

<sup>50</sup> According to some later sources this happened: Sophocles, *Laocoon* fr. 373.2; Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.649 with Servius' commentary; Hyginus, *Fab.* 94.

χαῖρε, θεά, Κύπριοι ἐϋκτιμένης μεδέουσα·  
σέο δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς  
ὔμνον.

6. ΕΙΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ

- Αἰδοίην χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην  
ἄισομαι, ἣ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλογχεν  
εἰναλῆς, ὅθι μιν Ζεφύρου μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντος  
ἥνικεν κατὰ κύμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης  
5 ἀφρῶι ἐνι μαλακῶι τὴν δὲ χρυσάμπυκες ὦραι  
δέξαντ' ἀσπασίως, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἔσσαν,  
κρατὶ δ' ἔπ' ἀθανάτῳ στεφάνην εὐτυκτον ἔθηκαν  
καλὴν χρυσεῖην, ἐν δὲ τρητοῖσι λοβοῖσιν  
ἄνθεμ' ὀρειχάλκου χρυσοῖό τε τιμήμεντος,  
10 δειρῇ δ' ἀμφ' ἀπαλῇ καὶ στήθεσιν ἀργυφέοισιν  
ὄρμοισι χρυσέοισιν ἐκόσμεον, οἷσί περ αὐταί  
ὦραι κοσμέσθην χρυσάμπυκες, ὀππότ' ἴοιεν  
ἐς χορὸν ἱμερόεντα θεῶν καὶ δώματα πατρός.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα περὶ χροῖ κόσμον ἔθηκαν,  
15 ἦγον ἐς ἀθανάτους· οἳ δ' ἡσπάζοντο ἰδόντες  
χερσὶ τ' ἐδεξιόωντο· καὶ ἡρήσαντο ἕκαστος  
εἶναι κουριδίην ἄλοχον καὶ οὔκαδ' ἄγεσθαι,  
εἶδος θαυμάζοντες ἰοστεφάνου Κυθереΐης.  
χαῖρ' ἐλικοβλέφαρε, γλυκυμείλιχε, δὸς δ' ἐν  
ἀγῶνι  
20 νίκην τῶιδε φέρεσθαι, ἐμὴν δ' ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείω καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

## 5. TO APHRODITE

I salute you, goddess, queen of well-cultivated Cyprus.  
After beginning from you, I will pass over to another song.

## 6. TO APHRODITE

Of the reverend, gold-crowned, lovely Aphrodite I will sing, who has been assigned the citadels of all Cyprus that is in the sea. That is where the wet-blowing westerly's force brought her across the swell of the noisy main, in soft foam;<sup>51</sup> and the Horai with headbands of gold received her gladly, and clothed her in divine clothing. On her immortal head they put a finely wrought diadem, a beautiful gold one, and in her pierced ear lobes flowers of orichalc and precious gold. About her tender throat and her white breast they decked her in golden necklaces, the ones that the gold-crowned Horai themselves would be decked with whenever they went to the gods' lovely dance at their father's house. When they had put all the finery about her body, they led her to the immortals, who welcomed her on sight and took her hand in greeting; and each of them prayed to take her home as his wedded wife, as they admired the beauty of violet-crowned Cytherea.

I salute you, sweet-and-gentle one of curling lashes:  
grant me victory in this competition, and order my singing.  
And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

<sup>51</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony* 188–200, relates that when Kronos cut off his father Ouranos' genitals and threw them in the sea, foam formed round them, and in it Aphrodite was born. It floated first to Cythera and then to Cyprus, where she emerged. Hence she is called Cytherea, Cyprian, and because of the foam (*aphros*) Aphrodite.

## 7. ΕΙΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ

- Ἀμφὶ Διώνυσον Σεμέλης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν  
 μνήσομαι, ὥς ἐφάνη παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο  
 ἀκτῇ ἔπι προβλήτι, νεηνίη ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς  
 πρωθήβην· καλαὶ δὲ περισσεύοντο ἔθειραι  
 5 κυάνεαι, φᾶρος δὲ περὶ στιβαροῖς ἔχεν ὤμοις  
 πορφύρεον. τάχα δ' ἄνδρες εὖσσέλμου ἀπὸ νηός  
 ληϊσταὶ προγένοντο θοῶς ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον,  
 Τυρσηνοί· τοὺς δ' ἦγε κακὸς μόρος. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες  
 νεῦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους, τάχα δ' ἔκθορον· αἶψα δ'  
 ἐλόντες  
 10 εἶσαν ἐπὶ σφετέρης νηός, κεχαρημένοι ἦτορ·  
 υἱὸν γάρ μιν ἔφαντο διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων  
 εἶναι. καὶ δεσμοῖς ἔθελον δεῖν ἀργαλέοισιν·  
 τὸν δ' οὐκ ἴσχανε δεσμά, λύγοι δ' ἀπὸ τηλόσ'  
 ἐπιπτον  
 χειρῶν ἠδὲ ποδῶν, ὃ δὲ μειδιάων ἐκάθητο  
 15 ὄμμασι κυανέοισι. κυβερνήτης δὲ νοήσας  
 αὐτίκα οἷς ἐτάροισιν ἐκέκλετο φώνησέν τε·  
 “δαιμόνιοι, τίνα τόνδε θεῶν δεσμεύεθ' ἐλόντες,  
 καρτερόν; οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναταί μιν νηὺς εὐεργής.  
 ἦ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὅδε γ' ἐστὶν ἢ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
 20 ἢ Ποσειδάων, ἐπεὶ οὐ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν  
 εἵκελος, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς οἱ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσιν.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγετ' αὐτὸν ἀφῶμεν ἐπ' ἡπείροιο μελαίνης  
 αὐτίκα, μηδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἰάλλετε, μή τι χολωθεῖς  
 ὄρσηι ἀργαλέους τ' ἀνέμους καὶ λαίλαπα πολλήν.”

## 7. TO DIONYSUS

### 7. TO DIONYSUS

Of Dionysus, glorious Semele's son, I will make remembrance: how he appeared by the shore of the barren sea, on a jutting headland, in the likeness of a youth in first manhood; the fine sable locks waved about him, and he had a cloak of crimson about his strong shoulders. Suddenly men from a galley came speeding over the wine-faced sea, freebooters from Tuscany, led on by an ill doom. When they saw him, they nodded to one another, and at once leapt out, seized him, and set him aboard their ship, exulting, for they reckoned he was the son of a princely line fostered by Zeus. And they meant to bind him in grievous bonds; but the bonds would not contain him, the osiers fell clear away from his hands and feet, while he sat there smiling with his dark eyes. When the helmsman saw it, he at once cried out to his comrades:

“Madmen, which of the gods is this that you would bind prisoner?—a mighty one, our sturdy ship cannot support him. This is either Zeus, or silverbow Apollo, or Poseidon; he is not like mortal men, but the gods who dwell on Olympus. Come on, let's put him ashore straight away on the dark land. Don't lay hands on him, or he may be angered and raise fierce winds and tempest!”

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13 *λύγοι* Chalcondyles: *λυδοὶ* Ψ, *ληδοὶ* M

- 25 ὥς φάτο· τὸν δ' ἀρχὸς στυγερῶι ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ·  
 “δαιμόνι, οὔρον ὄρα, ἅμα δ' ἰστίον ἔλκεο νηὸς  
 σύμπανθ' ὅπλα λαβών· ὃδε δ' αὖτ' ἀνδρεσσι  
 μελήσει.  
 ἔλπομαι ἢ Αἴγυπτον ἀφίξεται ἢ ὃ γε Κύπρον  
 ἢ ἐς Ὑπερβορέους ἢ ἐκαστέρῳ· ἐς δὲ τελευτήν  
 30 ἔκ ποτ' ἐρεῖ αὐτοῦ τε φίλους καὶ κτήματα πάντα  
 οὓς τε κασιγνήτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμῖν ἔμβαλε δαίμων.”  
 ὥς εἰπὼν ἰστόν τε καὶ ἰστίον ἔλκετο νηὸς·  
 ἔμπνευσεν δ' ἄνεμος μέσον ἰστίον, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ'  
 ὅπλα  
 κατάνυσαν. τάχα δέ σφιν ἐφαίνετο θαυματὰ ἔργα·  
 35 οἶνος μὲν πρώτιστα θοὴν ἀνὰ νῆα μέλαιναν  
 ἠδύνποτος κελάρυξ' εὐώδης, ὠρυντο δ' ὁδμή  
 ἀμβροσίῃ· ναύτας δὲ τάφος λάβε πάντας ἰδόντας·  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἀκρότατον παρὰ ἰστίον ἐξετανύσθη  
 ἄμπελος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, κατεκρημνῶντο δὲ πολλοί  
 40 βότρυες· ἀμφ' ἰστόν δὲ μέλας εἰλίσσετο κισσός  
 ἄνθεσι τηλεθάων, χαρίεις δ' ἐπὶ καρπὸς ὀρώρει·  
 πάντες δὲ σκαλμοὶ στεφάνους ἔχον. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες  
 νῆ' ἤδη τότ' ἔπειτα κυβερνήτην ἐκέλευον  
 γῆι πελάαν· ὃ δ' ἄρα σφι λέων γένετ' ἔνδοθι νηὸς  
 45 δεινὸς ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης, μέγα δ' ἔβραχεν· ἐν δ' ἄρα  
 μέσσηι  
 ἄρκτον ἐποίησεν λασιαύχενα, σήματα φαίνων·  
 ἂν δ' ἔστη μεμαυῖα, λέων δ' ἐπὶ σέλματος ἄκρου  
 δεινὸν ὑπόδρα ἰδών· οἱ δ' ἐς πρύμνην ἐφόβηθεν,  
 ἀμφὶ κυβερνήτην δὲ σαόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντα

## 7. TO DIONYSUS

So he spoke, but the captain rebuked him harshly: "Madman, you watch the wind; help me hoist the sail, catch all the sheets together. Leave this fellow for men to worry about. I fancy he will get to Egypt, or Cyprus, or the Hyperboreans, or beyond, and in the end he'll speak out and tell us his kinsmen and their possessions and who his brothers are, seeing that fortune has thrown him among us."

With these words he turned to hoist the mast and sail. The wind blew full into the sail, and they tightened the sheets at the sides. But suddenly they began to see miraculous apparitions. First of all, wine gushed out over the dark swift ship, sweet-tasting and fragrant, and there rose a smell ambrosial, and the sailors were all seized with astonishment as they saw it. Then along the top of the sail there spread a vine in both directions, hung with many grape clusters. About the mast dark ivy was winding, all flowering, and pretty berries were out on it; and all the tholes were decorated with garlands. When they saw this, then they did start calling on the helmsman to take the ship to land. But the god became a lion in the ship, a terrible lion in the bows, and he roared loud; and amidships he made a shaggy-maned bear, to signal his power. Up it reared in fury, while the lion at the top of the deck stood glaring fearsomely. They fled to the stern, and about the prudent-hearted helmsman they halted in terror. Without

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37 τάρφος Ψ: φόβος My

43 νῆ' ἤδη Hermann: μὴ δ' ἤδη M, μὴ δῆδεν Ψ

45-47 damn. Sparshott



- 50 ἔσταν ἄρ' ἐκπληγέντες. ὁ δ' ἑξαπίνης ἐπορούσας  
 ἀρχὸν ἔλ'. οἱ δὲ θύραζε κακὸν μόρον ἑξαλύνοντες  
 πάντες ὁμῶς πῆδησαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον, εἰς ἄλα δῖαν,  
 δελφῖνες δ' ἐγένοντο. κυβερνήτην δ' ἐλεήσας  
 ἔσχεθε καὶ μιν ἔθηκε πανόλβιον, εἶπέ τε μῦθον·  
 55 "θάρσει, †δῖ' ἐκάτωρ†, τῶμῳ κεχαρισμένε θυμῶι·  
 εἶμι δ' ἐγὼ Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος, ὃν τέκε μήτηρ  
 Καδμηΐς Σεμέλη Διὸς ἐν φιλότῃτι μιγείσα."  
 χαῖρε, τέκος Σεμέλης εὐώπιδος· οὐδέ πηι ἔστιν  
 σείῳ γε ληθόμενον γλυκερὴν κοσμήσαι ἀοιδήν.

{8. Εἰς Ἀρεά

- Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα, βρισάρματε, χρυσεοπήληξ,  
 ὀβριμόθυμε, φέρασπι, πολισσόε, χαλκοκορυστά,  
 καρτερόχειρ, ἀμόγητε, δορισθενές, ἔρκος Ὀλύμπου,  
 Νίκης εὐπολέμοιο πάτερ, συναρωγὲ Θέμιστος,  
 5 ἀντιβίοισι τύραννε, δικαιοτάτων ἀγέ φωτῶν,  
 ἡνωρέης σκηπτοῦχε, πυραυγέα κύκλον ἐλίσσων  
 αἰθέρος ἐπταπόροις ἐνὶ τείρεσιν, ἔνθά σε πῶλοι  
 ζαφλεγέες τριτάτης ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος αἰὲν ἔχουσιν·  
 κλῦθι, βροτῶν ἐπίκουρε, δοτὴρ εὐθαρσέος ἥβης,  
 10 πρὴν καταστίλβων σέλας ὑψόθεν εἰς βιότῃτα  
 ἡμετέρην καὶ κάρτος ἀρήϊον, ὥς κε δυναίμην  
 σεύασθαι κακότητα πικρὴν ἀπ' ἐμείῳ καρήνου

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<sup>52</sup> Text obscure.

## 7. TO DIONYSUS

warning the lion sprang forward and seized the captain. The others all leapt out into the sea when they saw it, to avoid an ill doom, and they turned into dolphins. But as for the helmsman, the god took pity on him and held him back, and gave him the highest blessings, saying:

“Be not afraid, good mariner(?),<sup>52</sup> lief to my heart. I am Dionysus the mighty roarer, born to Cadmus’ daughter Semele in union of love with Zeus.”

I salute you, child of fair Semele; there is no way to adorn sweet singing while heedless of you.

## {8. TO ARES<sup>53</sup>

Ares haughty in spirit, heavy on chariot, golden-helmed; grim-hearted, shieldbearer, city-savior, bronze-armored; tough of arm, untiring, spear-strong, bulwark of Olympus; father of Victory in the good fight, ally of Law; oppressor of the rebellious, leader of the righteous; sceptred king of manliness, as you wheel your fiery circle among the seven coursing lights of the ether, where your flaming steeds ever keep you up on the third orbit:<sup>54</sup> hearken, helper of mankind, giver of brave young manhood, and gleam down your kindly flare from on high into my life, and martial strength, so that I might chase bitter wickedness away from my

<sup>53</sup> This hymn is a late intruder in the Homeric collection, to be attributed to the fifth-century Neoplatonist Proclus. See the Introduction.

<sup>54</sup> Ares is identified as the red planet Mars. In the ancient view Mars was the third of the seven ‘planets’, counting inwards from the outer firmament. The orbits of Jupiter and Saturn lay beyond his, while those of Mercury, Venus, the Sun, and the Moon were closer to the earth.

- καὶ ψυχῆς ἀπατηλὸν ὑπογνάμψαι φρεσὶν ὀρμήν  
 θυμοῦ τ' αὖ μένος ὅξυ κατισχέμεν, ὅς μ' ἐρέθισιν  
 15 φυλόπιδος κρυερῆς ἐπιβαινέμεν· ἀλλὰ σὺ θάρσος  
 δός, μάκαρ, εἰρήνης τε μένειν ἐν ἀπήμοσι θεσμοῖς,  
 δυσμενέων προφυγόντα μόθον κῆράς τε βιαίους.}

9. ΕΙΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΝ

- Ἄρτεμιν ὕμνει, Μοῦσα, κασιγνήτην Ἑκάτοιο,  
 παρθένον ἰοχέαιραν, ὁμότροφον Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 ἣ θ' ἵππους ἄρσασα βαθυσχοίνοιο Μέλητος  
 ῥίμφα διὰ Σμύρνης παγχρύσειον ἄρμα διώκει  
 5 ἐς Κλάρων ἀμπελόεσσαν, ὅθ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
 ἦσται μιμνάζων ἐκατηβόλον Ἰοχέαιραν.

καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε θεαί θ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀοιδῇν  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σέ τε πρῶτα καὶ ἐκ σέθεν ἄρχομ'  
 αἰείδειν.

{σέο δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς  
 ὕμνον.}

9 secl. Ilgen

10. ΕΙΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ

Κυπρογενῇ Κυθέρειαν αἰέσομαι, ἣ τε βροτοῖσιν  
 μείλιχα δῶρα δίδωσιν· ἐφ' ἡμερτῶι δὲ προσώπωι  
 αἰεὶ μειδιάει, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμερτὸν θέει ἄνθος.

χαῖρε, θεά, Σαλαμῖνος ἐϋκτιμένης μεδέουσα

## 8. TO ARES

head, deflect the soul-deceiving impulse in my thoughts, and restrain the sharp force of appetite that provokes me to embark on chill conflict. Blessed one, grant me courage to abide by the innocuous principles of peace, escaping battle with my enemies and the perils of violence.}

## 9. TO ARTEMIS

Sing, Muse, of Artemis, sister of the Far-shooter, the virgin profuse of arrows, fellow nursling of Apollo; who after watering her horses at the reedy Meles<sup>55</sup> drives her chariot all of gold swiftly through Smyrna to vine-terraced Claros, where silverbow Apollo sits awaiting the far-shooting one, the profuse of arrows.<sup>56</sup>

So I salute you, and all goddesses, in my song; of you and from you first I sing.

## 10. TO APHRODITE

Of Cyprus-born Cytherea I will sing, who gives mortals honeyed gifts. On her lovely face she is always smiling, and a lovely bloom runs over it.

I salute you, goddess, queen of well-cultivated Sala-

<sup>55</sup> A river close to Smyrna.

<sup>56</sup> Two alternatives of the next sentence are transmitted. The other reads: "And beginning from you, I will pass over to another song."

## HOMERIC HYMNS

- 5 καὶ πάσης Κύπρου· δὸς δ' ἱμερόεσσιν αἰοιδήν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείω καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

### 11. ΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΝ

- Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην ἐρυσίπολιν ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδιν,  
δεινὴν, ἥι σὺν Ἄρηϊ μέλει πολεμήϊα ἔργα  
περθόμεναί τε πόλῃς αὐτὴ τε πτόλεμοί τε,  
καὶ τ' ἐρρύσατο λαὸν ἰόντά τε νισόμενόν τε.  
5 χαῖρε, θεά, δὸς δ' ἄμμι τύχην εὐδαιμονίην τε.

### 12. ΕΙΣ ΗΡΑΝ

- Ἥρην αἰεῖδω χρυσόθρονον, ἥν τέκε Ῥεΐη,  
ἀθανάτων βασιλείαν, ὑπείροχον εἶδος ἔχουσαν,  
Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε  
κυδρὴν, ἥν πάντες μάκαρες κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον  
5 ἀζόμενοι τίουσιν ὁμῶς Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ.

2 ἀθανάτων Matthiae: ἀθανάτην Ω

### 13. ΕΙΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΝ

- Δήμητρ' ἡΰκομον σεμνὴν θεὸν ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδιν,  
αὐτὴν καὶ κούρην περικαλλέα Περσεφόνειαν.  
χαῖρε, θεά, καὶ τήνδε σάου πόλιν, ἄρχε δ' αἰοιδῆς.

## 10. TO APHRODITE

mis<sup>57</sup> and of all Cyprus: grant me beautiful singing. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

## 11. TO ATHENA

Of Pallas Athena the city-savior first I sing, dread goddess, who with Ares attends to the works of war, the sacking of towns, shouting and fighting, and keeps the army safe as it goes out and returns.

I salute you, goddess: grant us success and prosperity!

## 12. TO HERA

Of Hera I sing, the golden-throned, whom Rhea bore to be queen of the immortals, of supreme beauty, sister and wife of Zeus the loud-booming; glorious one, whom all of the blessed ones on long Olympus revere and honor no less than Zeus whose sport is the thunderbolt.

## 13. TO DEMETER

Of Demeter the lovely-haired, the august goddess first I sing, of her and her daughter, beautiful Persephone.

I salute you, goddess: keep this city safe, and give my song its beginning.

<sup>57</sup> Not the island but the town in Cyprus.

14. ΕΙΣ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΘΕΩΝ

- Μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων  
 ὕμναι, Μοῦσα λίγεια, Διὸς θύγατερ μέγαλοιο,  
 ἧι κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν  
 εὐαδεν ἡδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων  
 5 οὐρεά τ' ἡχήμεντα καὶ ὑλήεντες ἔναυλοι.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε θεαί θ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀοιδῇ.

2 θυγάτηρ Ω

15. ΕΙΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΘΥΤΜΟΝ

- Ἡρακλέα Διὸς υἱὸν αἰέσομαι, ὃν μέγ' ἄριστον  
 γείνατ' ἐπιχθονίων Θήβης ἐνὶ καλλιχόροισιν  
 Ἀλκμήνῃ μιχθεῖσα κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίωνι  
 ὃς πρὶν μὲν κατὰ γαῖαν ἀθέσφατον ἡδὲ θάλασσαν  
 5 πλαζόμενος πομπῇσιν ὕπ' Εὐρυσθέως ἄνακτος  
 πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔρεξεν ἀτάσθαλα, πολλὰ δ'  
 ἀνέτλη·  
 νῦν δ' ἤδη κατὰ καλὸν ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου  
 ναίει τερπόμενος καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην.  
 χαῖρε, ἄναξ Διὸς υἱέ· δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ  
 ὄλβον.

#### 14. TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

#### 14. TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

Celebrate, clear-voiced Muse, daughter of great Zeus, the Mother of all gods and all mankind, whose pleasure is the din of cymbal-clappers and tambours and the bray of the shawms, the howling of wolves and fierce lions, the echoing mountains and wooded valleys.

So I salute you, and all goddesses, in my song.

#### 15. TO HERACLES THE LIONHEART

Of Heracles the son of Zeus I will sing, far the finest of men on earth, born in Thebes of the beautiful dances to Alcmena in union with the dark-cloud son of Kronos. Formerly he roamed the vastness of land and sea at the behest of King Eurystheus, causing much suffering himself and enduring much; but now in the fair abode of snowy Olympus he lives in pleasure and has fair-ankled Hebe as his wife.

I salute you, lord, son of Zeus: grant me status and fortune.



## 16. ΕΙΣ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΝ

Ἰητῆρα νόσων Ἀσκληπιὸν ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν,  
 υἱὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, τὸν ἐγείνατο δῖα Κορωνίς  
 Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ, κούρη Φλεγύου βασιλῆος,  
 χάρμα μέγ' ἀνθρώποισι, κακῶν θελκτῆρ' ὀδυνάων.  
 5 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, ἄναξ· λίτομαι δέ σ'  
 αἰοιδῆι.

## 17. ΕΙΣ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΤΡΟΥΣ

Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκε' αἰείσσο, Μοῦσα λίγεια,  
 Τυνδαρίδας, οἳ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐξεγένοντο·  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ Τηϋγέτου κορυφῆις τέκε πότνια Λήδη  
 λάθρῃ ὑποδμηθείσα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίῳ.  
 5 χαίρετε Τυνδαρίδαι, ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων.

## 18. ΕΙΣ ΕΡΜΗΝ

Ἑρμῆν αἰίδω Κυλλήνιον Ἀργειφόντην,  
 Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πολυμήλου,  
 ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον, ὃν τέκε Μαῖα  
 Ἄτλαντος θυγάτηρ Διὸς ἐν φιλότῃ μιγείσα  
 5 αἰδοίῃ· μακάρων δὲ θεῶν ἀλέεινεν ὄμιλον  
 ἄντρῳ ναιετάουσα παλισκίῳ, ἔνθα Κρονίων  
 νύμφῃ ἐϋπλοκάμῳ μισγέσκετο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶι,  
 εὔτε κατὰ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἔχοι λευκώλενον Ἥρην,

## 16. TO ASCLEPIUS

### 16. TO ASCLEPIUS

Of Asclepius the healer of sicknesses first I sing, son of Apollo, born in the Dotian Plain to the lady Coronis, daughter of king Phlegyas, a great joy to mankind, the soother of horrid pains.

So I salute you, lord; I supplicate you with my song.

### 17. TO THE DIOSCURI

Of Castor and Polydeuces you shall sing, clear-voiced Muse, of the Tyndarids, born of Olympian Zeus; below the peaks of Taygetus the mistress Leda bore them after secretly surrendering to the dark-cloud son of Kronos.

I salute you, Tyndarids, riders of swift steeds.

### 18. TO HERMES

Of Hermes I sing, the Cyllenian Argus-slayer, the lord of Cyllene and Arcadia rich in flocks, the immortals' coursing messenger, whom Maia bore, the daughter of Atlas, in shared intimacy with Zeus; modest one, who shunned the company of the blessed gods, dwelling in a cave's shadow. There the son of Kronos used to unite with the nymph of lovely tresses in the depth of the night, so long as sweet sleep held white-armed Hera fast, and neither immortal

λάνθανε δ' ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ'  
ἀνθρώπους.

- 10 {καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος νιέ·  
σέο δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς  
ῥυμνον.}  
χαῖρ', Ἑρμῇ χαριδῶτα διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἐάων.

10–11 secl. West: 12 (secl. Ilgen) om. Π3

19. ΕΙΣ ΠΑΝΑ

- Ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμείαιο φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα,  
αἰγοπόδην δικέρωτα φιλόκροτον, ὅς τ' ἀνὰ πίση  
δενδρήεντ' ἄμυδις φοιτᾷ χορο<γ>ηθέσι νύμφαις,  
αἷ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης στεῖβουσιν κάρηνα  
5 Πᾶν' ἀνακεκλόμεναι, νόμιον θεὸν ἀγλαέθειρον  
αὐχμήενθ', ὅς πάντα λόφον νιφόεντα λέλογχεν  
καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων καὶ πετρήεντα κέλευθα.  
φοιτᾷ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διὰ ῥωπήϊα πυκνά,  
ἄλλοτε μὲν ῥεῖθροισιν ἐφελκόμενος μαλακοῖσιν,  
10 ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ πέτρησιν ἐν ἡλιβάτοισι διοιχνεῖ,  
ἀκροτάτην κορυφὴν μηλοσκόπον εἰσαναβαίνων.  
πολλάκι δ' ἀργινόεντα διέδραμεν οὔρεα μακρά,  
πολλάκι δ' ἐν κνημοῖσι διήλασε θήρᾳς ἐναίρων,  
ὄξέα δερκόμενος· ποτὶ δ' ἔσπερον ἔκλαγεν οἶος  
15 ἄγρης ἐξανιών, δονάκων ὑπο μούσαν ἀθύρων  
νῆδυμον· οὐκ ἂν τόν γε παραδράμοι ἐν μελέεσσιν  
ὄρνις, ἢ τ' ἔαρος πολυανθέος ἐν πετάλοισιν

## 18. TO HERMES

gods nor mortal men knew of it.<sup>58</sup>

So I salute you, son of Zeus and Maia. After beginning from you, I will pass over to another song.

## 19. TO PAN

About Hermes' dear child tell me, Muse, the goat-footed, two-horned rowdy, who roams about the wooded fields together with the dance-merry nymphs: along the precipitous crag they tread the summits, calling on Pan, god of the pastures with splendor of rough hair, who has been assigned every snowy hill, the mountain peaks, and the rocky tracks. This way and that he roams through the thick brush, sometimes drawn to the gentle streams, sometimes again passing among the towering crags as he climbs up to the highest peak to survey the flocks; often he runs through the long white mountains, and often he drives the wild creatures through the glens, killing them, keen-sighted. Towards evening his solitary sound is heard as he returns from the hunt, playing sweet music from his reed pipes; his melodies would not be surpassed by that bird that in

<sup>58</sup> Two alternatives of the next sentence are transmitted. The other reads: "I salute you, Hermes bestower of favor, go-between, giver of blessings."

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3 χορογηθέσι Schmidt: χοροθήεσι Ψ

12 ἀργινόεντα Martin: αἰγι- Ψ

14 ποτὶ δ' ἔσπερον Baumeister, οἶος Hermann: τότε (vel τοτὲ) δ' ἔσπερος ἔκλαγεν οἶον Ψ

15 ἄγρης Pierson: ἄκρης Ψ

θρήνον ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν.

- σὺν δέ σφιν τότε νύμφαι ὀρεστιάδες λιγύμολποι  
 20 φοιτῶσαι πύκα ποσσὶν ἐπὶ κρήνῃ μελανύδρῳ  
 μέλπονται—κορυφήν δὲ περιστένει οὔρεος ἡχώ·  
 δαίμων δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα χορῶν, τοτὲ <δ'> ἐς μέσον  
 ἔρπων

πυκνὰ ποσσὶν διέπει, λαῖφος δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφουινόν  
 λυγκὸς ἔχει, λιγυρήσιν ἀγαλλόμενος φρένα  
 μολπαῖς—

- 25 ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι, τόθι κρόκος ἦδ' ὑάκινθος  
 εὐώδης θαλέθων καταμίσγεται ἄκριτα ποίηι.  
 ὑμνέουσιν δὲ θεοὺς μάκαρας καὶ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον·  
 οἷόν θ' Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων  
 ἔννεπον, ὡς ὃ γ' ἅπασι θεοῖς θοὸς ἄγγελός ἐστιν,  
 30 καὶ ῥ' ὃ γ' ἐς Ἀρκαδίην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα  
 μῆλων,

ἐξίκετ'· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος Κυλληνίου ἐστίν.  
 ἔνθ' ὃ γε καὶ θεὸς ὦν ψαφαρότριχα μῆλ' ἐνόμειεν  
 ἀνδρὶ πάρα θνητῶν· θάλε γὰρ πόθος ὑγρὸς ἐπελθὼν  
 νύμφῃ ἐϋπλοκάμῳ Δρύοπος φιλότῃτι μιγῆναι.

- 35 ἐκ δ' ἐτέλεσσε γάμον θαλερόν, τέκε δ' ἐν  
 μεγάροισιν

Ἑρμείῃ φίλον υἱὸν ἄφαρ τερατωπὸν ιδέσθαι,  
 αἰγοπόδην δικέρωτα πολύκροτον ἡδυγέλωτα.  
 φεῦγε δ' ἀναΐξασα, λίπεν δ' ἄρα παῖδα τιθήνη·  
 δέισε γάρ, ὡς ἶδεν ὄψιν ἀμείλιχον ἡϋγένειον.  
 40 τὸν δ' αἰψ' Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ἐς χέρα θῆκεν  
 δεξάμενος, χαῖρεν δὲ νόῳ περιώσια δαίμων·

flowery spring among the leaves pours forth her lament in honey-voiced song.<sup>59</sup>

With him then the clear-singing mountain nymphs, tripping nimbly by a dark spring, dance and sing; the echo moans round the mountaintop, while the god, moving from side to side of the dance rings, or again in the middle, cuts a nimble caper, a brown lynx hide over his back, delighting in the silvery singing—all in a soft meadow, where crocus and fragrant hyacinth spring up inextricably mingled with the grass. They celebrate the blessed gods and long Olympus; and they tell of one god above all, Hermes the courser, how he is the swift messenger for all the gods, and how he came to Arcadia with its many springs, the mother of flocks; it is there that he has his precinct as Cyllenian Hermes. There, though a god, he pastured dirt-crustured flocks beside a mortal man, because a surging desire had come upon him to unite in love with Dryops' lovely-tressed girl. He accomplished the fruitful coupling; and she bore Hermes a dear son in the house, at once a prodigy to behold, goat-footed, two-horned rowdy, merry laughter. She jumped up and ran away, nurse abandoning child, for she was frightened when she saw his unprepossessing face with its full beard. But Hermes the courser quickly took him and laid him in his arm, and the god's

<sup>59</sup> The nightingale.

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20 *πύκα* Barnes: *πυκνά* Ψ

22 *δ'* add. Buttmann

26 *ποίη* Hermann: *ποίη* Ψ

37 *αἰγινόδην* Ψ; cf. 2

38 *ἀναῖξασα, λίπεν* Martin: *ἀναῖξας λείπεν* Ψ

ρίμφα δ' ἐς ἀθανάτων ἔδρας κίε παῖδα καλύψας  
 δέρμασιν ἐν πυκινόισιν ὀρεσκώιοιο λαγωοῦ·  
 παρ δὲ Ζηνὶ καθίζε καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 45 δειῖξε δὲ κοῦρον ἑόν· πάντες δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔτερφθεν  
 ἀθάνατοι, περίαλλα δ' ὁ Βάκχειος Διόνυσος·  
 Πᾶνα δέ μιν καλέεσκον, ὅτι φρένα πᾶσιν ἔτερψεν.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, ἄναξ, ἵλαμαι δέ σ'  
 αἰοιδῇ·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

## 20. ΕΙΣ ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΝ

Ἥφαιστον κλυτόμητιν αἰείσσο, Μοῦσα λίγεια,  
 ὃς μετ' Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὰ ἔργα  
 ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ χθονός, οἱ τὸ πάρος περ  
 ἄντροις ναιετάασκον ἐν οὐρεσιν ἡὔτε θῆρες.  
 5 νῦν δὲ δι' Ἥφαιστον κλυτοτέχνην ἔργα δαέντες  
 ῥῆϊδίως αἰῶνα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν  
 εὐκῆλοι διάγουσιν ἐνὶ σφετέροισι δόμοισιν.  
 ἀλλ' ἴληθ', Ἥφαιστε· δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ  
 ὄλβον.

## 21. ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ

Φοῖβε, σὲ μὲν καὶ κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων λίγ' αἰεῖδει  
 ὄχθῃ ἐπιθρώσκων ποταμὸν πάρα δινήεντα  
 Πηνειόν· σὲ δ' αἰοιδὸς ἔχων φόρμιγγα λίγειαν  
 ἡδυεπὴς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν αἰεῖδει.

## 19. TO PAN

mind was exceedingly glad. He went rapidly to the abodes of the immortals, wrapping the child closely in skins of mountain hare, and sat down beside Zeus and the other gods and displayed his son. All the immortals were delighted, especially Bacchic Dionysus; and they took to calling him Pan, because he delighted them all (*pantes*).

So I salute you, lord; I seek your favor with my song. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

## 20. TO HEPHAESTUS

Of Hephaestus famous for contrivance you shall sing, clear-voiced Muse, of him who with steely-eyed Athena has taught splendid crafts to mankind on earth, that previously used to live in caves in the mountains like animals. But now that they have learned crafts through Hephaestus the famously skilled, they pass their lives at ease in their own houses the whole year through.

So be favorable, Hephaestus: grant me status and fortune.

## 21. TO APOLLO

Phoibos, of you the swan too sings in clear tone from its wings as it alights on the bank beside the eddying river Peneios; and of you the bard with his clear-toned lyre and sweet verse ever sings in first place and last.

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45 ἔτερφθεν Stephanus: -φθον Ψ

20.1 ἀείσσο Buttmann: ἀείδσο Ψ



## HOMERIC HYMNS

- 5 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, ἄναξ· ἴλαμαι δέ σ' αἰοιδῆι.

### 22. ΕΙΣ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΑ

- Ἄμφι Ποσειδάωνα, μέγαν θεόν, ἄρχομ' αἰείδειν,  
 γαίης κινητήρα καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης,  
 πόντιον, ὅς θ' Ἑλικῶνα καὶ εὐρείας ἔχει Αἰγᾶς.  
 διχθά τοι, Ἐννοσίγαιε, θεοὶ τιμὴν ἐδάσαντο,  
 5 ἵππων τε δμητῆρ' ἔμεναι σωτήρᾳ τε νηῶν.  
 χαῖρε, Ποσείδαον γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα,  
 καί, μάκαρ, εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων πλώουσιν ἄρηγε.

### 23. ΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ

Ζῆνα θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον αἰέισομαι ἠδὲ μέγιστον,  
 εὐρύοπα κρείοντα τελεσφόρον, ὅς τε Θέμις<σ>τι  
 ἐγκλιδὸν ἐξομένῃι πυκινοὺς ὀάρους ὀαρίζει.  
 ἴληθ', εὐρύοπα Κρονίδη κύδιστε μέγιστε.

### 24. ΕΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΑΝ

Ἔστίη, ἥ τε ἄνακτος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο  
 Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃι ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύεις,  
 αἰεὶ σὼν πλοκάμων ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον.  
 ἔρχεο τόνδ' ἀνὰ οἶκον †ἐπέρχεο θυμὸν ἔχουσα

## 21. TO APOLLO

So I salute you, lord, and seek your favor with my singing.

## 22. TO POSEIDON

About Poseidon the great god first I sing, mover of the earth and the barren sea, marine god, who possesses Helicon and broad Aegae. In two parts, Earth-shaker, the gods assigned you your privilege: to be a tamer of horses, and savior of ships.

I salute you, Poseidon, earth-rider, sable-hair. Keep your heart well disposed, blessed one, and assist those at sea.

## 23. TO ZEUS

Of Zeus, best and greatest of the gods, I will sing, the wide-sounding ruler, the one that brings to fulfilment, who consults closely with Themis as she sits leaning against him.

Be favorable, wide-sounding son of Kronos, greatest and most glorious.

## 24. TO HESTIA

Hestia, you that tend the far-shooting lord Apollo's sacred house at holy Pytho, from your locks the oozing oil ever drips down. Come to this house in kindly(?) heart, to-

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22.1 μέγαν θεόν Hermann: θεὸν μέγαν Ψ

23.2 θέμιτι Ψ: corr. Barnes

23.4 εἴν' ἔρχεο Tucker: εὐφρονα Barnes

5 σὺν Διὶ μητιόεντι· χάριν δ' ἄμ' ὅπασσον ἀοιδῇ.

25. ΕΙΣ ΜΟΥΣΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ

Μουσάων ἄρχωμαι Ἀπόλλωνός τε Διός τε·  
 ἐκ γὰρ Μουσάων καὶ ἐκῆβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ καὶ κιθαρισταί,  
 ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ὃ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν τινα Μοῦσαι  
 5 φίλωνται· γλυκερὴ οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδῇ.  
 χαίρετε, τέκνα Διός, καὶ ἐμὴν τιμήσατ' ἀοιδῆν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

26. ΕΙΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ

Κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν,  
 Ζηνὸς καὶ Σεμέλης ἐρικυδέος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν,  
 ὃν τρέφον ἡὔκομοι νύμφαι παρὰ πατρὸς ἄνακτος  
 δεξάμεναι κόλποισι καὶ ἐνδυκέως ἀτίταλλον  
 5 Νύσης ἐν γυάλοις· ὃ δ' ἀέξετο πατρὸς ἔκῃτι  
 ἄνθρωι ἐν εὐώδει μεταρίθμιος ἀθανάτοισιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸν γε θεὰ πολύμνον ἔθρεψαν,  
 δὴ τότε φοιτίζεσκε καθ' ὑλήεντας ἐναύλους,  
 κισσῶι καὶ δάφνηι πεπυκασμένος· αἱ δ' ἄμ' ἔποντο  
 10 νύμφαι, ὃ δ' ἐξηγεῖτο· βρόμος δ' ἔχεν ἄσπετον  
 ὕλην.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, πολυστάφυλ' ᾧ Διόνυσε·  
 δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ἐς ὥρας αὐτὶς ἰκέσθαι,  
 ἐκ δ' αὖθ' ὥράων εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐνιαυτούς.

## 24. TO HESTIA

gether with Zeus the resourceful, and bestow beauty on my singing.

## 25. TO THE MUSES AND APOLLO

From the Muses let me begin, and Apollo and Zeus. For from the Muses and far-shooting Apollo men are singers and lyre-players on earth, and from Zeus they are kings. He is fortunate whom the Muses love: the voice flows sweet from his lips.

I salute you, children of Zeus; honor my singing. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

## 26. TO DIONYSUS

Of ivy-haired Dionysus the mighty roarer first I sing, Zeus' and glorious Semele's splendid son, whom the lovely-haired nymphs took to their bosoms from his divine father and reared and fostered attentively in Nysa's glens; and he grew according to his father's design in the fragrant cave, numbered among the immortals. After the goddesses had raised him, god of much song, he took to going about the wooded valleys, wreathed with ivy and bay; the nymphs would follow along as he led, and the noise of the revel pervaded the boundless woodland.

So I salute you, Dionysus of the abundant grape clusters: grant that we may come again in happiness at the due time, and time after time for many a year.

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26.7 τόν γε Gemoll: τόνδε Ψ

## 27. ΕΙΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΝ

- Ἄρτεμιν αἰείδω χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινὴν,  
 παρθένον αἰδοίην ἐλαφηβόλον ἰοχέαιραν,  
 αὐτοκασιγνήτην χρυσαόρου Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 ἣ κατ' ὄρη σκιάοντα καὶ ἄκριας ἠνεμοέσσας  
 5 ἄγρῃ τερπομένη παγχρύσεια τόξα τιταίνει,  
 πέμπουσα στονόεντα βέλη· τρομέει δὲ κάρηνα  
 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων, ἰαχεῖ δ' ἐπὶ δάσκιος ὕλη  
 δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς θηρῶν, φρίσσει δέ τε γαῖα  
 πόντός τ' ἰχθυόεις· ἦ δ' ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχουσα  
 10 πάντῃ ἐπιστρέφεται θηρῶν ὀλέκουσα γενέθλην.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν τερφθῇ θηροσκοπὸς Ἰοχέαιρα,  
 εὐφρήνῃ δὲ νόον, χαλάσας· εὐκαμπέα τόξα  
 ἔρχεται ἐς μέγα δῶμα κασιγνήτοιο φίλοιο  
 Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνος, Δελφῶν ἐς πίονα δῆμον,  
 15 Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα.  
 ἔνθα κατακρεμάσασα παλίντονα τόξα καὶ ἰούς  
 ἡγείται, χαρίεντα περὶ χροῖ κόσμον ἔχουσα,  
 ἐξάρχουσα χορούς· αἶ δ' ἀμβροσίην ὅπ' ἱεῖσαι  
 ὑμνέουσιν Δητὼ καλλίσφυρον, ὥς τέκε παῖδας  
 20 ἀθανάτων βουλῇ τε καὶ ἔργμασιν ἔξοχ' ἀρίστους.  
 χαίρετε, τέκνα Διὸς καὶ Δητοῦς ἡὔκομοιο·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων <τε> καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

22 τε add. Barnes

## 27. TO ARTEMIS

### 27. TO ARTEMIS

I sing of Artemis of the gold shafts and the view-halloo, the modest virgin, the deer-shooter profuse of arrows, own sister to Apollo of the golden sword; of her who in the shadowed mountains and windy heights takes her pleasure in the hunt, and draws her golden bow to discharge grievous arrows. And the peaks of the high mountains tremble, the deep-shaded wood resounds fearsomely from the animals' howling, and the earth shudders, and the fishy sea; but she with dauntless heart turns every way, killing the animals' brood.

When the animal-watcher goddess profuse of arrows has had her pleasure and cheered her spirits, she unstrings her bent bow and goes to the great house of her dear brother Phoibos Apollo, to Delphi's rich community, to organize the Muses' and Graces' fair dance. There she hangs up her bent-back bow and her arrows and goes before, her body beautifully adorned, leading the dances, while they with divine voices celebrate fair-ankled Leto, how she bore children outstanding among the immortals both in counsel and action.

I salute you, children of Zeus and lovely-haired Leto. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

# HOMERIC HYMNS

## 28. ΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΝ

- Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην, κυδρὴν θεόν, ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν,  
 γλαυκῶπιν πολύμητιν ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσαν,  
 παρθένον αἰδοίην ἐρυσίπτολιν ἀλκήεσσαν  
 Τριτογενῇ, τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 5 σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς, πολεμήϊα τεύχε' ἔχουσαν  
 χρύσεα παμφανόωντα· σέβας δ' ἔχε πάντας  
 ὀρώοντας  
 ἀθανάτους· ἦ δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
 ἐσσυμένως ὤρουσεν ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο καρῆνου  
 σείσασ' ὅξυν ἄκοντα· μέγας δ' ἐλελίζετ' Ὀλυμπος  
 10 δεινὸν ὑπὸ βρίμης Γλαυκώπιδος, ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα  
 σμερδαλέον ἰάχησεν, ἐκινήθη δ' ἄρα πόντος  
 κύμασι πορφυρέοισι κυκώμενος, ἔσχετο δ' ἄλμη  
 ἐξαπίνης· στήσεν δ' Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
 ἵππους ὠκύποδας δηρὸν χρόνον, εἰσότε κούρη  
 15 εἴλετ' ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ὤμων θεοείκελα τεύχη  
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη· γήθησε δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διὸς τέκος αἰγιόχοιο·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείω καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

## 29. ΕΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΑΝ

Ἰστίη, ἥ πάντων ἐν δώμασιν ὑψηλοῖσιν  
 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων  
 ἔδρην ἄδιδιον ἔλαχες πρεσβηΐδα τιμῇν,  
 καλὸν ἔχουσα γέρας καὶ τιμῇν· οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ σοῦ

## 28. TO ATHENA

## 28. TO ATHENA

Of Pallas Athena, glorious goddess, first I sing, the steely-eyed, resourceful one with implacable heart, the reverend virgin, city-savior, doughty one, Tritogeneia, to whom wise Zeus himself gave birth out of his august head, in battle armor of shining gold: all the immortals watched in awe, as before Zeus the goat-rider she sprang quickly down from his immortal head with a brandish of her sharp javelin. A fearsome tremor went through great Olympus from the power of the Steely-eyed one, the earth resounded terribly round about, and the sea heaved in a confusion of swirling waves. But suddenly the main was held in check, and Hyperion's splendid son<sup>60</sup> halted his swift-footed steeds for a long time, until the maiden, Pallas Athena, took off the godlike armor from her immortal shoulders, and wise Zeus rejoiced.

So I salute you, child of goat-rider Zeus. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

## 29. TO HESTIA

Hestia, you that in the high dwellings of all, both immortal gods and men who walk on earth, have been assigned an everlasting seat as the privilege of seniority, and enjoy a fine honor and privilege, for mortals have no feasts without

<sup>60</sup> Helios, the Sun.

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10 ὑπὸ βρύμης Ilgen: ὑπ' ὀβρύμης Ψ

12 δ' Chalcondyles: θ' Ψ

29.1 Ἰστίη Wolf: ἐστίη Ψ



- 5 εἰλαπῖναι θνητοῖσιν, ἔν' οὐ πρότῃ πυμάτῃ τε  
 Ἰστίῃ ἀρχόμενος σπένδει μελιηδέα οἶνον·  
 καὶ σύ μοι, Ἀργειφόντα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος νιέ,  
 8 ἄγγελε τῶν μακάρων, χρυσόρραπι, δῶτορ ἑάων,  
 10 ἵλαος ὦν ἐπάρηγε σὺν αἰδοίῃι τε φίλῃι τε  
 11 Ἰστίῃ· ἀμφοτέρωι γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 9 ναίετε δώματα καλά, φίλα φρεσὶν ἀλλήλοισιν  
 12 εἰδότες, ἔρματα καλά, νόωι θ' ἔσπεσθε καὶ ἥβῃι.  
 χαῖρε, Κρόνου θύγατερ, σύ τε καὶ χρυσόρραπις  
 Ἑρμῆς·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

30. ΕΙΣ ΓΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ

- Γαίαν παμμήτειραν αἰέσομαι, ἡϋθέμεθλον,  
 πρεσβίστην, ἣ φέρβει ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάνθ' ὅπόσ' ἐστίν,  
 ἡμὲν ὅσα χθόνα διὰν ἐπέρχεται ἡδ' ὅσα πόντον  
 ἡδ' ὅσα πωτῶνται· τὰ δὲ φέρβεται ἐκ σέθεν ὄλβου.  
 5 ἐκ σέο δ' εὐπαιδές τε καὶ εὐκαρποι τελέθουσιν,  
 πότνια, σεῦ δ' ἔχεται δοῦναι βίον ἡδ' ἀφελέσθαι  
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν· ὃ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅν κε σὺ θυμῷ  
 πρόφρων τιμήσεις, τῷ τ' ἄφθονα πάντα πάρεστιν·  
 βρίθῃ μὲν σφιν ἄρουρα φερέσβιος, ἡδὲ κατ'  
 ἀγρούς  
 10 κτήνεσιν εὐθηνεῖ, οἶκος δ' ἐμπίμπλαται ἐσθλῶν·  
 αὐτοὶ δ' εὐνομίῃσι πόλιν κάτα καλλιγύναικα  
 κοιρανέουσ', ὄλβος δὲ πολὺς καὶ πλοῦτος ὀπηδεῖ·  
 παῖδες δ' εὐφροσύνῃι νεοθηλέϊ κυδιώουσιν,

## 29. TO HESTIA

you where the libation-pourer does not begin by offering honey-sweet wine to Hestia in first place and last: and you, Argus-slayer, son of Zeus and Maia, messenger of the blessed ones, gold-wand, giver of blessings, be favorable and assist together with Hestia whom you love and revere. For both of you dwell in the fine houses of men on earth, in friendship towards each other, fine supports (of the house), and you attend intelligence and youth.

I salute you, daughter of Kronos, and you too, gold-wand Hermes. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

## 30. TO EARTH MOTHER OF ALL

Of Earth the universal mother I will sing, the firmly-grounded, the eldest, who nourishes everything there is on the land, both all that moves on the holy land and in the sea and all that flies: they are nourished from your bounty. From you they become fertile in children and in crops, mistress, and it depends on you to give livelihood or take it away from mortal men. He is fortunate whom your heart favors and privileges, and everything is his in abundance. His plowland is weighed down with its vital produce, in the fields he is prosperous with livestock, and his house is filled with commodities. Such men are lords in communities where law and order prevail and the women are fair, and much fortune and wealth attends them; their sons exult in youthful vigor and good cheer, and their girls in flower-

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29.9 post 11 transp. Martin

29.12 ἔρματα West: ἔργματα Ψ

- παρθενικάι τε χοροῖς φερεσανθέσιν εὐφροني θυμῶι  
 15 παίζουσ<α>ι χαίρουσι κατ' ἄνθεα μαλ<θ>ακὰ ποίης,  
 οὓς κε σὺ τιμήσεις, σεμνὴ θεά, ἄφθονε δαῖμον.  
 χαῖρε, θεῶν μήτηρ, ἄλοχ' Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,  
 πρόφρων δ' ἀντ' ὠιδῆς βίοτον θυμήρε' ὄπαζε·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

14 φερεσανθέσιν Ernesti: περεσ- fx, παρ' εὐ- p

31. ΕΙΣ ΗΛΙΟΝ

- Ἥλιον ὑμνεῖν αὖτε Διὸς τέκος ἄρχεο Μοῦσα  
 Καλλιόπη, φαέθοντα, τὸν Εὐρυφάεσσα βοῶπις  
 γείνατο Γαίης παιδὶ καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·  
 γῆμε γὰρ Εὐρυφάεσσαν ἀγακλειτὴν Ὑπερίων  
 5 αὐτοκασιγνήτην, ἣ οἱ τέκε κάλλιμα τέκνα,  
 Ἥω τε ῥοδόπηχυν ἐϋπλόκαμόν τε Σελήνην  
 Ἥελιόν τ' ἀκάμαντ' ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 ὃς φαίνει θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν  
 ἵπποις ἐμβεβαῶς· σμερδνὸν δ' ὃ γε δέρκεται ὄσσοις  
 10 χρυσέης ἐκ κόρυθος, λαμπραὶ δ' ἀκτῖνες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 αἰγλῇεν στίλβουσι, παρὰ κροτάφων τε ἔθειραι  
 λαμπραὶ ἀπὸ κρατὸς χαρίεν κατέχουσιν πρόσωπον  
 τηλαυγές· καλὸν δὲ περὶ χροὶ λάμπεται ἔσθος  
 λεπτοργές· πνοιῇ ἀνέμων. ὑπὸ δ' ἄρσενες ἵπποι  
 14a <αἴσσουσ', ὄφρ' ἂν μέσον οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἵκωνται>

11 ἔθειραι Pierson: παρειαὶ Ψ

14a lac. stat. Hermann, suppl. Allen-Halliday

### 30. TO EARTH MOTHER OF ALL

decked dances delight to frolic happily through the soft meadow flowers—so it is with those whom you privilege, august goddess, bounteous deity.

I salute you, mother of the gods, consort of starry Heaven: be favorable, and grant comfortable livelihood in return for my singing. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

### 31. TO HELIOS

Of Helios again begin your song, daughter of Zeus, Muse Calliope: the shining one, whom mild-eyed Euryphaessa<sup>61</sup> bore to the son of Earth and starry Heaven. For Hyperion married the famed Euryphaessa, his own sister, who bore him fine children: rose-armed Eos (Dawn), lovely-tressed Selene (Moon), and tireless Helios (Sun), who is in the gods' likeness. He shines for mortals and immortals, mounted on his chariot; his eyes gaze fearsomely out of his golden helm, the bright rays from him gleam brilliant, and from beside his temples the bright hair of his head encloses his beautiful face that beams afar, while about his body glows his fair garment, fine-woven by the blowing winds. Below him his stallions <speed on till they reach the

<sup>61</sup> Euryphaessa, "Shining Far and Wide," appears only here as the name of the Titan whom Hesiod and others call Theia.

- 15 ἔνθ' ἄρ' ὃ γε στήσας χρυσόζυγον ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους  
 15a θεσπεσικ . . . . .  
 ἐσπέριος πέμπησι δι' οὐρανοῦ Ὠκεανόνδε.  
 χαῖρε, ἄναξ, πρόφρων δὲ βίον θυμήρε' ὅπαζε·  
 ἐκ σέο δ' ἀρξάμενος κλήισω μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν  
 ἡμιθέων, ὧν ἔργα θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ἔδειξαν.

15a lac. stat. Allen-Sikes: 16 ἐσπέριος Ruhnkenius, θεσπέσιος Ψ: ut supra West

32. Εἰς Σελήνην

- Μήνην εὐειδῇ τανυσίπτερον ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι,  
 ἥδυεπεῖς κοῦραι Κρονίδεω Διός, ἱστορες ὠιδῆς·  
 ἧς ἅπο αἴγλη γαῖαν ἐλίσσεται οὐρανόδεικτος  
 κρατὸς ἅπ' ἀθανάτοιο, πολὺς δ' ὑπὸ κόσμος ὄρωρεν  
 5 αἴγλης λαμπούσης· στίλβει δ' ἐκ τ' ἀλάμπетος ἀήρ  
 χρυσέου ἅπο στεφάνου, ἀκτῖνες δ' ἐνδιάονται,  
 εὖτ' ἂν ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο λοεσσαμένη χροά καλόν,  
 εἵματα ἔσσαμένη τηλαυγέα, διὰ Σελήνην  
 ζευξαμένη πώλους ἐριαύχενας αἰγλήεντας  
 10 ἐσσυμένως προτέρωσ' ἐλάσῃ καλλίτριχας ἵππους  
 ἐσπερίῃ διχόμηνος, ὅτε πλήθει μέγας ὄγμος,  
 λαμπρόταταί τ' αὐγαὶ τότε ἀεξομένης τελέθωσιν  
 οὐρανόθεν· τέκμωρ δὲ βροτοῖς καὶ σῆμα τέτυκται.  
 τῇ ρά ποτε Κρονίδης ἐμίγη φιλότῃ καὶ εὐνῇ·  
 15 ἣ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη Πανδίην γείνατο κούρην

### 31. TO HELIOS

very mid-point of heaven>,<sup>62</sup> there he halts his horses and gold-yoked car, and a wondrous < . . . until> at evening he guides them through the sky towards Ocean's stream.

I salute you, lord: be favorable, and grant comfortable livelihood. After beginning from you, I will celebrate the brood of mortal heroes, whose deeds the gods have disclosed to mankind.

### 32. TO SELENE

Tell of the fair, spread-winged Moon, O Muses, sweet-versing daughters of Kronos' son Zeus, expert in song: of her whose brightness displayed in heaven encircles the earth from her immortal head, and a rich beauty emerges where the brightness shines. The unlit air gleams from her golden circlet, and her rays disport themselves in it, when from Ocean's stream, where she has bathed her fair body and put on her far-beaming raiment, the lady Selene yokes her proud-necked, shining colts and speedily drives those fair-maned steeds onwards on the evening of full moon, when the great orbit is complete, and with her waxing her rays then shine from heaven at their brightest; it is a marker and a sign for mankind.

With her the son of Kronos once united in the bed of love; and she conceived, and bore the maiden Pandia,<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Line supplied by conjecture. Another line has evidently fallen out after "wondrous."

<sup>63</sup> See Introduction.

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1 *ἐνεδῆ* Bothe: *ἀείδειν* Ψ: *αἰδῖν* Sikes

5 *δέ τ'* Barnes: *δ'* Ψ

15 *Πανδίην* Hermann: *πανδείην* Ψ

- ἐκπρεπὲς εἶδος ἔχουσαν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.  
 χαῖρε, ἄνασσα, θεὰ λευκώλενε διὰ Σελήνη,  
 πρόφρον, ἔϋπλόκαμος· σέο δ' ἀρχόμενος κλέα  
 φωτῶν  
 ἄισομαι ἡμιθέων, ὧν κλείουσ' ἔργματ' αἰοιδοί  
 20 Μουσάων θεράποντες ἀπὸ στομάτων ἐροέντων.

### 33. ΕΙΣ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΤΡΟΥΣ

- Ἀμφὶ Διὸς κούρους ἐλικώπιδες ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι,  
 Τυνδαρίδας, Λήδης καλλισφύρου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,  
 Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ ἀμώμητον Πολυδεῦκεα,  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ Ταϋγέτου κορυφῇ ὄρεος μέγαλοιο  
 5 μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότῃτι κελαινεφείῃ Κρονίωνι  
 σωτήρας τέκε παῖδας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 ὠκυπόρων τε νεῶν, ὅτε τε σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι  
 χειμέρια κατὰ πόντον ἀμείλιχον· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν  
 εὐχόμενοι καλέουσι Διὸς κούρους μέγαλοιο  
 10 ἄρνεσιν λευκοῖσιν, ἐπ' ἀκρωτήρια βάντες  
 πρύμνης· τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε μέγας καὶ κῦμα  
 θαλάσσης  
 θῆκαν ὑποβρυχίην. οἱ δ' ἐξαπίνης ἐφάνησαν  
 ξουθηῖσι πτερύγεσσι δι' αἰθέρος ἀΐξαντες,  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων κατέπανσαν ἀέλλας,  
 15 κύματα δ' ἐστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσιν,  
 σήματα καλά, πόνου <ἀπονό>σφισιν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες  
 γήθησαν, παύσαντο δ' οὔζυροιο πόνοιο.

### 32. TO SELENE

whose beauty is outstanding among the immortals.

I salute you, Mistress, goddess of white arms, lady Selene, propitious, lovely-tressed. Beginning from you, I will sing of famous tales of heroes, whose deeds are celebrated by singers, the Muses' servants, from their enchanting mouths.

### 33. TO THE DIOSCURI

Tell about the Sons of Zeus, O curly-eyed Muses—the Tyndarids, fair-ankled Leda's splendid children, Castor the horse-tamer and faultless Polydeuces, whom below the peaks of the great mountain Taygetus, after uniting in love with the dark-cloud son of Kronos, she bore to be saviors of mankind on earth and of swift-faring ships, when winter tempests race over the implacable sea, and the men from their ships invoke the Sons of great Zeus in prayer, with (sacrifice of) white lambs, going onto the stern deck, and the strong wind and sea swell overwhelm the ship: suddenly they appear, speeding through the air on tawny wings, and at once they make the fierce squalls cease, and lay the waves amid the flats of a clear sea—fair portents, and release from travail; the sailors rejoice at the sight, and their misery and stress are ended.

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16 σήματα καλά, πόνον ἀπονόσφισιν Bury: ναύταις  
σήματα καλὰ πόνου σφίσιν Ψ



## HOMERIC HYMNS

χαίρετε, Τυνδαρίδαι, ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων·  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων <τε> καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

19 τε add. Barnes

## FRAGMENTUM

Ael. Dion. α 76, “ἀλλὰ ἄναξ”

ἀρχὴ ἐξοδίου κιθαρωιδικοῦ, ὥσπερ κωμικοῦ μὲν ἦδε ...  
ῥαψωιδοῦ δὲ αὕτη·

νῦν δὲ θεοὶ μάκαρες τῶν ἐσθλῶν ἄφθονοι ἔστε.

### 33. TO THE DIOSCURI

I salute you, Tyndarids, riders on swift steeds. And I  
will take heed both for you and for other singing.

### HYMN FRAGMENT

Aelius Dionysius, *Attic Lexicon*

“So, lord”: the beginning of a citharode’s envoi, just as this is of  
a comic poet’s: . . . and this of a rhapsode’s:

But now, blessed gods, be unstinting of blessings.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Apparently a line from the closing section of a Hymn not  
included in the “Homeric” collection.



# HOMERIC APOCRYPHA

## INTRODUCTION

Plato (*Phaedrus* 252b) quotes two lines that he says the Homeridai recite ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἐπῶν, "from their stored-away verses." Whether or not the existence of such a Reserve is to be taken seriously, I have seen fit to paraphrase Plato's expression as "from their Apocrypha," and to use this as a term of convenience to cover a group of non-serious or burlesque poems that were current in or after the classical period under Homer's name.

The pseudo-Herodotean Life (24) gives a list of "fun poems" (παίγνια) that Homer composed for the boys whom he taught at Bolissos in Chios: the *Cercopes*, the *Battle of Frogs*, the *Battle of Starlings*, the *Heptapaktike* (?), the *Epikichlides*, "and all the others." Most of these will be discussed below. One title, *Heptapaktike*, is enigmatic, being transmitted in a different meaningless form in each of the sources, unless the latest of all, Tzetzes, has the correct version with his *Hepta ep'aktion*, "Seven against the Headland," or "Seven against Actium." In this case it was some sort of parody of the story of the Seven against Thebes. But an equally plausible reading is *Heptapektos Aix*, "the Seven-times-shorn Goat" (Toup, after Leo Allatius). The lexica, in an entry probably going back to Seleucus, explain *heptapekt(i)os* as meaning "with abundant hair." If this referred to the poem, the

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inference would be that it was current by the first century BC.<sup>1</sup>

### *Margites*

The oldest of the "fun poems," perhaps, was a comic narrative poem entitled, after its central character, *Margites*; his name means something like "Impetuous." He apparently rushed into many undertakings without having the requisite knowledge or understanding, for he was an exceptionally ignorant and naive man. Naturally he got himself into a series of ridiculous situations. The sources refer especially to the matter of his wedding, which was initially unsatisfactory because he knew nothing about sex and had to be coaxed by means of a stratagem into doing what was required.

There are more allusions and general references to *Margites*, whose name became proverbial for a simpleton, than actual quotations from the poem. Our knowledge of it has, however, been somewhat extended by the publication of three papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus which can with some probability be ascribed to it. One of them (fr. 7) contains remnants of an otherwise unattested episode involving a nocturnal misadventure with a narrow-necked

<sup>1</sup> In the *Suda* the corrupt Ἡθιέπακτος is followed by ἥτοι Ἰαμβοί, apparently indicating *Iamboi* as an alternative title of the poem. This would imply, not necessarily that its meter was iambic, but rather that it was of a scurrilous or invective nature. The *Suda*'s list of work attributed to Homer also includes a new item, *Epithalamia*. Tzetzes too speaks of "bridal hymns." We can make nothing of this.

chamber pot, from which Margites is unable to extricate his penis. This may have been simply because he had an abnormally large one (something that the Greeks considered gross and comical),<sup>2</sup> or because he was in a state of sexual excitement, in which case this may have been part of the narrative of the wedding night (or the night when the marriage was eventually consummated). In the second papyrus (fr. 8) someone says "and examine my . . .": this is perhaps connected with the bride's device of presenting her vulva to Margites as a wound that needed his attention. The third papyrus (fr. 9) apparently refers to the successful consummation, achieved in an atmosphere of festivity. This perhaps formed the conclusion of the poem. Many comedies end with a wedding.

The dialect is Ionic, as we should expect of a poem ascribed to Homer. The metre is unusual: an irregular alternation of hexameters with iambic trimeters. Parallels occur in one of the earliest vase epigrams (CEG 454, "Nestor's cup," around 730 BC) and in a fragment of Xenophanes of Colophon (B 14 Diels = West).

The Xenophanes parallel is interesting, because the *Margites* itself has an association with Colophon. According to the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* (2) there was a place at Colophon where the locals claimed that Homer had started his poetic career and composed the *Margites* as his first work. A fragment from the poem, probably its opening (fr. 1), speaks of an old bard coming to Colophon with his lyre in his hands. It seems likely that he was represented as the narrator of the following tale, whether or not

<sup>2</sup> K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978), 125–128.

## INTRODUCTION

the author intended him to be identified as Homer. It is a reasonable inference that the poem did come from Colophon.

As to its date of composition, it cannot be later than the mid fifth century if, as stated by the Aristotelian commentator Eustratius, Cratinus alluded to the work.<sup>3</sup> The late sixth century would be a plausible time for its production; if the meter reminds us of Xenophanes, the farcical events and scatological humor remind us of Hipponax, both Ionian poets of that era. In Hipponax too we find hexameters used for comic purpose (epic parody, frs. 128-129a West) and the occasional hexameter line or half-line amid iambs (frs. 23 and 35).

If the *Margites* dates from that period, when Homer had recently begun to be celebrated as the greatest of the old bards, whose wanderings from city to city could be documented from the poems he left in them, the probability is that he was from the start represented as the author, and that the "old, godly singer" of the introductory lines was meant to be understood as Homer. His authorship was apparently accepted by the pseudo-Plato of the second *Alcibiades*, Aristotle, Zeno, and Callimachus. Later writers often express reserve, using phrases such as "the *Margites* attributed to Homer," or they deny his author-

<sup>3</sup> See the Testimonia. He also says it was mentioned by Archilochus, but that may be a distorted allusion to the fact that the same verse about the fox and the hedgehog was found both in Archilochus and in the *Margites* (fr. 5). The author may have borrowed it from Archilochus. Another explanation of Eustratius' remark is that his "Archilochus and Cratinus" is an error for "Cratinus in his comedy *Archilochoi*."



ship outright. The assertion of Hesychius of Miletus that the *Margites* and *Battle of Frogs and Mice* were both the work of the Carian Pigres, the brother of Queen Artemisia, is without historical value, though frequently grasped at by scholars eager to have a named author. It may be an invention of Ptolemy Hephaestion.<sup>4</sup>

### *Cercopes*

This poem dealt with an amusing incident in Heracles' career, one of several episodes in which he rid the land of brigands or other nuisances who plagued the local population. The Cercopes, literally "Dick-faces," were a pair of rascally brothers who tormented people with their tricks. Different versions locate them in different parts of Greece; Herodotus (7.216) knew a place associated with them near Thermopylae. Their mother warned them that they were in danger of encountering a "black-ass." They may have thought she meant the fierce variety of eagle that was so called.<sup>5</sup> But their black-ass turned out to be Heracles, as they discovered when he captured them and hung them upside down from a pole which he carried on his shoulder, so that they had a good view of his hairy nether parts. The scene is depicted on vases from the early sixth century on.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Otto Crusius, *Philologus* 54 (1895), 734 ff.; 58 (1899), 577 ff.; Rudolf Peppmüller, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* (1897), 513 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Archilochus, fr. 178.

<sup>6</sup> See further Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (Baltimore and London, 1993), 441 f.

## INTRODUCTION

### *Epikichlides*

Another work attributed to Homer by the late classical period was a poem of amorous character, apparently addressed to a boy or boys; pseudo-Herodotus implies that these were the sons of the Chian who employed Homer at Bolissos. So much we gather from the scanty testimonia. The curious title *Epikichlides* was explained by Menaechmus of Sicyon from *kichlai* "thrushes," which he alleged that the boys gave Homer as a token of their appreciation. More likely it is to be connected with the verb *kichlizein*, to snigger or giggle. The poet may have addressed *Epikichlides Mousai*, Sniggering Muses.

To this poem I have conjecturally assigned the fragment quoted by Plato from the Homeric "Apocrypha," as it concerns the Love god and appears to be of a somewhat facetious nature.

### *Animal and Bird Epics*

The *Battle of Frogs and Mice* (*Batrachomyomachia*) is a later composition. It contains echoes of Callimachus and Moschus, there is no mention of its existence before the first century AD, and Wackernagel showed that on linguistic grounds it can hardly be pre-Augustan. The riddling description of the crabs in lines 294–298 seems to stand in a close relationship with an epigram by Statilius Flaccus, who perhaps wrote under Augustus.<sup>7</sup> However, this amus-

<sup>7</sup> Jacob Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen, 1916), 188–196; Statilius Flaccus, *Anth. Pal.* 6.196 (3802 ff. Gow–Page, *The Garland of Philip*). No allusion to the

ing epyllion, in which a short-lived conflict between pondside creatures is treated in the epic style, has a remarkable prehistory going back long before the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

In Egypt there was an ancient tradition, extending well into the third millennium, of pictures, probably associated with stories, in which animals of all kinds were humorously shown engaging in human activities. Among them there emerge certain well-defined themes, some of which can be illustrated from Aesopic fables and others from modern African folktales. They presumably correspond to animal tales that were current in oral tradition. From the fourteenth century BC to the seventh or eighth century AD there are representations of a war between cats and mice. They correspond to tales that survive in modern Egypt and have left traces also in Arabic and Persian sources.<sup>8</sup>

Although the Greeks knew cats from the fifth century BC, it was the weasel that they thought of as the mouse's standard enemy. In Ptolemaic times the Egyptian motif of the War of the Cats and Mice was adapted in a Greek poem

poem is to be seen in Archelaus of Priene's famous relief "the Apotheosis of Homer" (about 125 BC), which originally showed two mice nibbling a papyrus roll at Homer's feet (not a frog and a mouse, as erroneously restored in the eighteenth century). See *HSCP* 73 (1968), 123 n. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Emma Brunner-Traut, "Der Katzenmäuserkrieg im Alten und Neuen Orient," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 104 (1954), 347-351; "Ägyptische Tiermärchen," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 80 (1955), 12-32; *Altägyptische Märchen* (Düsseldorf and Köln, 1963), 59.

## INTRODUCTION

in epic style on a battle between the mice and a weasel or weasels. Before a fragment of this work was discovered on papyrus in 1983, its existence had been surmised. There is an Aesopic fable on the subject (165 Perry; Babrius 31), and Phaedrus in retelling it (4.6) mentions that it was a story depicted in all the taverns. The poet of the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* alludes at line 128 to a previous occasion when the mice had killed a weasel and skinned it for shield hides.

The papyrus containing *The Battle of the Weasel and the Mice* is dated to the second or first century BC. The main fragment comprises one relatively well preserved column of 31 lines and the lower part of a second, with a few letters from line-beginnings in the upper part. There are also a few unplaced scraps. The tenth line of the second column of the main piece is marked with the stichometric sign Δ, meaning "line 400," indicating that eleven columns of the roll are lost before the preserved text. But they must have contained other matter, for what we have is evidently the beginning of the story of the mice and the weasel. An over-bold mouse named Trixos ("Squeakos") is killed by the weasel, and this is what provokes the first gathering of the mouse army. The comparative material would lead us to suppose that the mice gained at least a temporary victory. Whether more weasels became involved later in the narrative, it is impossible to say.

There is no evidence that this poem was put under Homer's name; it is included in the present volume because it makes a natural companion to the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*, and because it has hitherto been accessible only in the pages of a periodical. Several other animal and bird epics, however, did become attributed to Homer, probably

in jest at first, though the ascription imposed on the more dull-witted. Pseudo-Herodotus (24) mentions a *Battle of Starlings*, and Hesychius of Miletus lists a *Battle of Spiders* and a *Battle of Cranes*.<sup>9</sup>

These have vanished. But one such poem, the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*, achieved unique success. Martial and Statius accepted it as the Homeric counterpart to the Virgilian *Culex*, the light-hearted prelude to the epic poet's more serious work.<sup>10</sup> It is noticed in the pseudo-Herodotean *Life* and some of the others. A fragment of it is found in a second-century papyrus to be published in volume 68 of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The author took his starting point from another Aesopic fable (384 Perry), according to which a mouse made friends with a frog and entertained him to a meal. The frog returned the invitation and led the way to his pool. As the mouse could not swim, the frog tied his foot to his own, and dived. The mouse felt himself drowning and cried out, "I shall have my revenge on you even when I am dead." The prophecy was fulfilled, for as the dead mouse lay floating on the surface of the water, a raven flew down and carried it off, with the frog still tied to it.

The poet begins his narrative in the manner of the fable: "A mouse one day . . ." But he gives the story a differ-

<sup>9</sup> This last perhaps never existed: it could derive from Strabo's reference to "the Homeric crane-battle of the Pygmies" (2.1.9), which alludes to *Iliad* 3.3-7. There is, however, another reference in the *Life of Aesop* (recension G, 14), where Aesop's appearance is likened to "a trumpeter in the Battle of the Cranes."

<sup>10</sup> Martial, *Epigrams* 14.183-186; Statius, prefatory epistle to *Silvae* 1.

## INTRODUCTION

ent turn. Instead of the dead mouse and the live frog being carried off by a bird, a second mouse on the bank takes the news of what has happened back to the other mice. Here the model of the older poem about the mice and the weasel makes its influence felt. The mice make preparations for war; so do the frogs. Zeus calls the gods to assembly to debate the situation. They decide not to involve themselves. Zeus thunders, and the battle goes forward. After a ferocious struggle the mice are on the point of victory. Zeus takes pity on the suffering frogs and, after failing to persuade Athena or Ares to intervene, hurls a thunderbolt. But the mice fight on. Finally Zeus sends in a battalion of crabs. These bite the feet and tails of the mice, who retire in disorderly haste.

As already in the *Battle of the Weasel and the Mice*, the individual creatures are given meaningful names appropriate to their species. The mice have theirs in two cases from their domestic habits (Troglodytes "Creephole," Knaision "Scratchaway"), but mostly from their propensity for stealing human food: Embasichytros "Paddlepot," Kroustophagos<sup>11</sup> "Pastrygobble," Leichenor "Lickhart," Leichomyte "Lickmill," Leichopinax "Lickplatter," Meridarpax "Filchpiece," Psicharpax "Filchcrumbe," Pteroglyphos "Hamgraver," Pterotroktes "Hamchamper," Sitophagos "Graingobble," Troxartes "Chambread," Tyroglyphos "Cheesegraver," Tyrophagos "Cheese-gobble." Of the frogs, some are named for their noisiness or other ostentation: Physignathos "Puffjawe," Hypsiboas "Loudhaylor," Kraugasides "MacCroak"; others from their liking for moist surroundings: Borborokoites "Sludge-

<sup>11</sup> Emended from the obscure Koustophagos.



## HOMERIC APOCRYPHA

couch," Hygraios<sup>12</sup> "Dampfred," Hydromedousa "Waterqueen, Aquareine," Peleus and Peleion "Mudfred," "MacMudd" (with a play on the Homeric Peleus and Peleion "son of Peleus"); others again from plants in the kitchen garden where frogs are to be found lurking: Kalaminthios "Catmint," Krambobates "Mountcabbage," Okimides "MacBasil," Origanion "Origano," Pras(s)eios and Pras(s)aioi "Leekhart, Leekhold," and Seutlaioi "Mangelwurzel."

The poet is able and inventive, although his work has suffered badly in the transmission. Once at war, his frogs and mice conduct themselves with due gravity, following the general procedures of Homeric battle, though the poet does not limit himself to Homeric cliché. The humor of the piece derives partly from the solemn epic treatment of the little creatures with their diminutive arms and armour made from snail shells, bean pods, and so on; partly from the gods' engagement with the conflict, their fear of being hurt if they join in on the ground, the final failure even of Zeus' thunderbolt to halt the mice in their triumphant onslaught. The highlight is Athena's speech in 178–196, with her account of the vexations caused her by both mice and frogs; here we are in sight of the Second Sophistic and Lucian's view of the Olympian world in his *Dialogues of the Gods*.

The text displays a number of incoherencies (more in some editions than in others). Most of them can be put down to the vagaries of the manuscript tradition, of which more below. But there is a real problem about the reap-

<sup>12</sup> Emended from the obscure Litraios.

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pearance of certain mice or frogs after they have been killed. Psicharpax-Filchcrumbe, the mouse whose drowning is the cause of the war, apparently plays a part in the combat at 234 ff. Troglodytes-Creephole is fatally hit at 213, but recurs in the better manuscripts at 247, though others give Sitophagos-Graingobble. Prasseios-Leekhart is slain at 236, but a frog with an almost identical name appears at 252. In the last two cases we can avoid contradiction by accepting the variant form of the name, but the case of Psicharpax is recalcitrant. An oversight by the poet is unlikely in view of the importance of the original Psicharpax to the plot. Are we to take the second one as a homonym, or is the poet parodying the notorious instance in the *Iliad* where the Paphlagonian leader Pylaemenes, killed at 5.576–579, reappears alive (to the perplexity of ancient commentators) at 13.658?

To conclude, a summary account must be given of the poem's transmission. We have seen that by the time of Domitian, at latest, it was in general currency under the name of Homer. During the next few centuries it enjoyed no special popularity. The second-century papyrus fragment mentioned above is the only one so far found, and there are few literary allusions to the work.

That changed in the Byzantine period. From about 800 onwards there appear a whole series of quotations and allusions.<sup>13</sup> The poem was adopted as a school text, to make a short and entertaining introduction to Homer. Because of this there is a large number of manuscripts, often

<sup>13</sup> Hansjörg Wölke, *Untersuchungen zur Batrachomyomachie*, 33–43.



furnished with explanatory glosses and scholia, none of which go back to antiquity. The oldest extant manuscript (Z = Oxon. Barocc. 50) dates from around 925, and there are four more from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Normally we should expect such relatively early copies of a classical poem to provide a well-founded text. In the case of the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*, however, the Byzantines felt an unusual licence and impulse to rewrite and expand. The scribe of Z seems already to have known divergent forms of the text, and he is prepared to emend it on his own initiative where he finds a difficulty. When we take in the later manuscripts, the amount of variation is bewildering. Some contain lines and passages that are absent from others; the same lines may appear in a different order; names of frogs or mice are replaced by completely different ones; a frog who slays a mouse in some copies is slain by him in others; what is part of the narrative in these appears as a speech by a mouse in those.

The root of the trouble appears to have been a particular rewriting that took place sometime in or before the eleventh century, best represented by the so-called Florentine family of manuscripts (I).<sup>14</sup> The person responsible added new lines and passages here and there—many of them seriously unmetrical—sometimes in place of existing verses. He altered names and details of the action so as to produce a more regular alternation of mouse and frog successes.

Apart from Z, the best manuscripts are those of the *a*

<sup>14</sup> This consists of L = Laur. 32.3 (eleventh–twelfth century); J = Ambr. I 4 sup. (AD 1276); F = Vat. gr. 915 (before 1311). J is inclined to introduce further alterations.

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family.<sup>15</sup> Sometimes, however, the better reading is preserved in the interpolated *l* family. Z sometimes agrees with *l*, but more often with *a*; at other times it is isolated, for good or ill. The many dozens of later manuscripts are characterized by various degrees of compromise between the two extremes represented by *a* and *l*, and they have little of value to offer beyond the occasional good conjecture.

By judicious choice among the readings of Z, *a*, and *l*, and a principled rejection of the extra verses in *l*, one may arrive at a text considerably more promising in appearance than seemed likely to emerge from the initial vista of chaos. But it still falls some way short of the presumed original; there remain some interpolated lines, some lines apparently out of place, and some defects of sense or metre, all of which call for active intervention on the editor's part. In the battle narrative, between lines 247 and 270, there is such a lack of coherence that it seems necessary to suppose the Byzantine tradition to have been dependent on a damaged archetype with verses missing at several points.

<sup>15</sup> This consists of P and Q = Par. suppl. gr. 690 and 663 (both eleventh century); Y = Heidelberg, Palat. 45 (AD 1202); T = Par. gr. 2723 (thirteenth century).

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#### *Manuscript Sigla*

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- a Family consisting of: P and Q = Paris, Supplément grec 690 and 663 (both eleventh century); Y = Heidelberg, Palatinus 45 (AD 1202); T = Paris. gr. 2723 (thirteenth century)
- l Florentine family, consisting of: L = Florence, Laurentianus 32.3 (eleventh–twelfth century); J = Milan, Ambrosianus I 4 sup. (AD 1276); F = Vaticanus gr. 915 (before 1311)
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## ΜΑΡΓΙΤΗΣ

### TESTIMONIA

Arist. *Poet.* 1448b24

διεσπάσθη δὲ κατὰ τὰ οἰκεία ἥθη ἢ ποίησις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ σεμνότεροι τὰς καλὰς ἐμιμοῦντο πράξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων, οἱ δὲ εὐτελέστεροι τὰς τῶν φαύλων, πρῶτον ψόγους ποιοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι ὕμνους καὶ ἐγκώμια. τῶν μὲν οὖν πρὸς Ὅμηρου οὐδενὸς ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοιούτον ποίημα, εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι πολλούς, ἀπὸ δὲ Ὅμηρον ἀρξαμένοις ἔστιν, οἷον ἐκείνου ὁ Μαργίτης καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. . . ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητῆς Ὅμηρος ἦν (μόνος γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι εἷ ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποίησεν), οὕτως καὶ τὸ τῆς κωμωιδίας σχῆμα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας· ὁ γὰρ Μαργίτης ἀνάλογον ἔχει, ὥσπερ Ἰλιάς καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια πρὸς τὰς τραγωιδίας, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμωιδίας.

Hephaestion, *Isagoge* 4 (p. 59.21 Consbruch)

μετρικὰ δὲ ἄτακτα . . . οἷός ἐστιν ὁ Μαργίτης ὁ εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερόμενος, ἐν ᾧ παρέσπαρται τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἱαμβικά, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ κατ' ἴσον σύστημα.

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Aristotle, *Poetics*

Poetry divided according to the (poets') native characters: the more dignified poets represented noble actions and those of noble people, while the more vulgar represented those of the low class, initially by composing derogatory pieces, just as another group composed hymns and encomia. Of poets before Homer we cannot name any author of such a poem, though many probably existed; but from Homer onwards we can, for example his *Margites* and the like. . . . And just as Homer above all was the poet of serious subjects—for he alone, besides composing well, composed dramatic representations—so too he was the first to reveal the outlines of comedy, by dramatization that was not derogatory but humorous. For the *Margites* stands in a similar relation to comedies as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* do to tragedies.

Hephaestion, *Introduction to Metre*

Unregulated metres . . . such as the *Margites* attributed to Homer, in which there are iambic lines scattered among the hexameters, and on no regular system.

Cf. eund. *De poem.* 3.4 (p. 65.10 C.); schol. ad loc. (p. 168.13); Aphthonius, *Gramm. Lat.* vi.68.9, 79.8, 133.30.

Dio Prus. 53.4 (ii.110.24 Arnim)

γέγραφε δὲ καὶ Ζήνων ὁ φιλόσοφος (SVF i.63.6) εἷς τε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσειαν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μαργίτου δέ· δοκεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα ὑπὸ Ὅμηρου γεγονέναι νεωτέρου καὶ ἀποπειρωμένου τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως πρὸς ποίησιν.

*Certamen Hom. et Hes.* 2

Κολοφώνιοι δὲ καὶ τόπον δεικνύουσιν ἐν ᾧ φασιν αὐτὸν γράμματα διδάσκοντα τῆς ποιήσεως ἄρξασθαι καὶ ποιῆσαι πρῶτον τὸν Μαργίτην.

Eustratius in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 6.7 (CAG xx.320.36)

παράγει δὲ εἰς μαρτυρίαν τοῦ εἶναι τὸν ὅλως σοφὸν ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν τινα σοφὸν καὶ τινα ποίησιν Μαργίτην ὀνομαζομένην Ὅμηρου. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ποιητικῆς (v. supra), ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος (fr. 303 W., cf. 201) καὶ Κρατῖνος (fr. 368 K.-A.) καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ἐπιγράμμασι (fr. 397 Pf.), καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν εἶναι Ὅμηρου τὸ ποίημα.

Dio of Prusa, *On Homer*

The philosopher Zeno too has written on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and also about the *Margites*, for this poem too is thought to have been produced by Homer when he was young and trying out his gift for poetry.

*The Contest of Homer and Hesiod*

The Colophonians even point to a spot where they say Homer, as a teacher of reading and writing, started his poetic career and composed the *Margites* as his first work.

Eustratius, commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*

As evidence of the difference between being clever absolutely and clever at particular things, he cites a poem of Homer called *Margites*. It is mentioned not only by Aristotle himself in Book 1 of the *Poetics*, but also by Archilochus, Cratinus, and Callimachus in his *Epigrams*, and they attest that it is by Homer.



Harpocr. M 6

Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος (Or. 3.160)· “ἐπ-  
ωνυμίαν δ’ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἔθετο.” καὶ Μαρ-  
σύας ἐν ε’ τῶν περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου (FGrHist 135 F 3)  
ἱστορεῖ, λέγων Μαργίτην ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους καλεῖ-  
σθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς ἀνοήτους οὕτω  
διὰ τὸν εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερόμενον Μαργίτην, ὅπερ  
ποίημα Καλλίμαχος θαυμάζειν ἔοικεν.

Schol. Ar. Av. 914

ἐπεπίστευτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Μαργίτης τοῦ Ὀμήρου εἶναι, ἐν  
ᾧ εἴρηται (fr. 1.2).

Schol. Dion. Thr. i.471.35 Hilgard

πολλὰ γὰρ νοθευόμενά ἐστιν, ὥς ἡ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντι-  
γόνη, λέγεται γὰρ εἶναι Ἰοφῶντος τοῦ Σοφοκλέους  
υἱοῦ· Ὀμήρου τὰ Κυπριακὰ καὶ ὁ Μαργίτης· Ἀράτου  
τὰ Θυτικά καὶ τὰ περὶ ὀρνέων· Ἡσιόδου ἡ Ἀσπίς.

Suda π 1551 (iv.127.24 Adler)

Πίγρης, Κὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀλικαρνασοῦ, ἀδελφὸς Ἀρτεμισίας  
τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διαφανοῦς, Μανσώλου γυναικός  
... ἔγραψε καὶ τὸν εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερόμενον Μαργί-  
την καὶ Βατραχομυομαχίαν.

See also references in the Lives of Homer edited in this volume:  
ps.-Plutarch 1.5; Proclus (end); Anon. III.

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Harpocration, *Lexicon to the Orators*

Margites: mentioned by Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, "and he gave Alexander the nickname Margites." And Marsyas in Book 5 of his Alexander history records it, saying that Alexander was called Margites by Demosthenes. They gave this name to foolish people because of the *Margites* attributed to Homer, a poem which Callimachus seems to admire.

Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds*

The *Margites* too was believed to be by Homer, in which it is said: (fr. 1.2).

Scholiast on Dionysius of Thrace

For many works are spurious, such as Sophocles' *Antigone* (said to be by Sophocles' son Iophon), Homer's *Cypria* and *Margites*, Aratus' *Thytika* and the poem on birds, Hesiod's *Shield*.

*Suda* (from Hesychius of Miletus)

Pigres, a Carian from Halicarnassus, brother of Artemisia the famous warrior, the wife of Mausolus<sup>1</sup> . . . He also wrote the *Margites* attributed to Homer and the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*.

<sup>1</sup> This confuses two Artemisias: the warrior queen of the early fifth century known from Herodotus, and the sister and wife of Mausolus in the mid fourth century.

# HOMERIC APOCRYPHA

## FRAGMENTA

- 1 Anon. P. Fackelmann 6 fr. a 17-21 + 26-27 (*ZPE* 34 [1979], 16); Atil. Fort., *Gramm. Lat.* vi.286.2; fr. Berol., ib. 633; line 2 also sch. Ar. Av. 914

ἦλθέ τις ἐς Κολοφῶνα γέρων καὶ θεῖος ἀοιδός,  
Μουσάων θεράπων καὶ ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνος,  
φίληις ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν εὐφθογγον λύρην.

3 φίλαις pap.: φιαῖς fr. Berol.: φιλην Atil.

- 2 Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1141a12 (– σοφόν); Clem. *Strom.* 1.25.1; (οὔτε σκαπτῆρα – ἀροτῆρα) Dio Prus. 7.116 (i.211.8 Arnim)

τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ σκαπτῆρα θεοὶ θέσαν οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα  
οὔτ' ἄλλως τι σοφόν· πάσης δ' ἡμάρτανε τέχνης.

- 3 Ps.-Plato, *Alcib.* II 147b

πόλλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα.

- 4 Dio Prus. 67.4 (ii.170.18 Arnim)

<οὐ> πολὺ γ' ἂν εἴη τοῦ Μαργίτου σοφώτερος ἀγνο-  
οῦντος ὅτι χρὴ γήμαντα χρῆσθαι τῇ γυναικί.

Hesych. μ 267 (supplemented from Cyril's *Lexicon*)

Μαργε<ί>της· μωρός τις ἦν, μὴ εἰδὼς μίξιν γυναικός. καὶ  
<ή> γυνή προτρέπεται αὐτόν, εἰποῦσα σκορπίον αὐτὴν

## MARGITES

### FRAGMENTS

- 1 Papyrus Fackelmann 6; Atilius Fortunatianus, *Art of Meter*; scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds*

There came to Colophon an old, godly singer, a servant of the Muses and of far-shooting Apollo, with his true-sounding lyre in his hands.

- 2 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*; Clement, *Miscellanies*; Dio of Prusa, *Euboicus*

The gods had made him neither a digger nor a plowman, nor skilled in any other way: he fell short at every craft.

- 3 Pseudo-Plato, *Alcibiades II*

He knew a lot of things, but he knew them all badly.<sup>2</sup>

- 4 Dio of Prusa, *On Reputation II*

He would not be much smarter than Margites, who did not know what you have to do with a wife when you have got married.

Hesychius, *Lexicon*

Margites: he was an idiot who did not know about copulation. His wife encouraged him by saying that a scorpion had bitten

<sup>2</sup> This verse perhaps followed immediately after fr. 2.

δῆξαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀχείας <δεῖν> θεραπευθῆναι.

Eust. in *Od.* 1669.48

οὕτως ἔγνωμεν καὶ τὸν ἄφρονα Μαργίτην . . . ὃν ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον Ὅμηρον Μαργίτην ὑποτίθεται εὐπόρων μὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν γονέων φῦναι, γήμαντα δὲ μὴ συμπεσεῖν τῇ νύμφῃ ἕως ἀναπεισθεῖσα ἐκείνη <ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς> τετραυματίσθαι τὰ κάτω ἐσκήψατο, φάρμακόν τε μηδὲν ὠφελήσειν ἔφη πλὴν εἰ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον αἰδοῖον ἐκεῖ ἐφαρμοσθεῖη· καὶ οὕτω θεραπείας χάριν ἐκείνος ἐπλησίασεν.

cf. sch. *Luc. Philops.* p. 162.7 Rabe.

5 Zenob. vulg. 5.68

πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχῖνος ἐν μέγα.

μέμνηται ταύτης Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν ἐπωδῇ (*Archil. fr.* 201)· γράφει δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν στίχον.

Cited without attribution by *Plut. Sollert. anim.* 971e and various scholia, lexica, and paroemiographers.

6 Theodorus Metochita, *Miscellanea* p. 510 Müller-Kiessling

καὶ ξυμβαίνει πολλάκις δυσπραγήματα, καὶ βιωτέον ἂν εἶη, εἰ καὶ ὅλως εἶη, κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον Μαργίτην, μηδὲν πονοῦντα μηδενὸς ἐπαῖοντα.

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her and that she had to be healed by means of intercourse.

Eustathius, commentary on *Odyssey* 10.552

In the same way we have heard of the foolish Margites . . . whom the author of the *Margites* that bears Homer's name represents as having been born to exceedingly affluent parents, but when he married he did not fall upon his bride until she, at her mother's instigation, pretended to have suffered a wound in her lower parts, and said that no remedy would be of any help except for a male member being fitted to the place: so it was that he made love to her, for therapeutic purposes.

### 5 Zenobius, *Proverbs*

The fox knows many tricks, but the hedgehog knows one big one.

Archilochus mentions this proverb in an Epode. Homer too writes the line.

### 6 Theodorus Metochita, *Miscellanies*

And misfortunes often occur, so that it would be best to live (if at all) like Homer's Margites, doing nothing and knowing nothing.

7 P. Oxy. 2309

κ]ύστιν[, χ]ειρὶ δὲ μακρῇ  
 ] τεύχεα, [κ]αὶ ῥα ἔλασσε  
 δυοῖσι δ' ἐν π]όνοι[σι]ν εἴχετο  
 ]ν· ἐν δὲ [τ]ῇ ἀμίδι  
 5 ] ἐξελεῖν δ' ἀμήχανον  
 κ]αὶ ῥ' ἐνώμειξεν ταχύ  
 ] κ[αιν]ῇν ἐφράσσατο μῆτι[ν·  
 ἀνόρουσε] λιπὼν ἄπο δέμνια [θερμά  
 ὤειξε] θύρας, ἐκ δ' ἔδραμεν ἕξω  
 10 ]ων διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν  
 ]υσσειε δὲ χεῖρα[ss]  
 δι]ὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν  
 ]μεν οὐδὲ φανίον  
 ] δύστηνον κάρ[η  
 15 ]εδόκεεν λίθ[  
 ]ωι καὶ χειρὶ παχ[εῖνι  
 λέπτ' ἔ]θηκεν ὄστρα[κα

(fragments of four more lines)

8 θερμά suppl. Latte, cetera Lobel, West

8 P. Oxy. 3963

1 α]ντίκ' ἀνέδραμ[ε, 2 ]ωι πεφοβημέν[, 3 ]συννοικέτω,  
 4 ἐ]ξαλευμένη, 6 ]τά τ' ἐμὰ σκοπεῦ, 7 ]ους δόμους, 8  
 (ἀνα)κ]εκαλυμ<μ>ένη· 9 ]φάσγανον

7 *Oxyrhynchus papyrus* (first century BC or AD)<sup>3</sup>

... bl]adder, and with hand outstretched [he set his dick to] the pot, and thrust [it in. Then in two] pinches he was caught ... while in the chamber pot ... and it was impossible to get it out ... and he very soon pissed into it ... He thought of a new stratagem ... [He jumped up,] leaving the [warm] bed ... [opened] the doors and ran out ... through the dark night ... and ... his hand ... through the dark night ... and no torch [he had] ... unlucky he[ad] ... thought it was a stone ... and with his stout hand ... [sma]shed the pot [on it ...

8 *Oxyrhynchus papyrus* (second century)

... at once ran up ... afraid ... the fellow domestic's ... she avoiding ... " ... and examine my ... " ... house ... her (un)veiled ... sword ...

<sup>3</sup> On the content of this and the following fragments see the Introduction.



9 P. Oxy. 3964

1 ]ων γὰρ [ο]ὕδὲ μῆδενῆσι ποικίλ[, 2 ]. εὖτ' Ἐλένην  
 ἰδὼν, 3 ]νεῖν ἄλσεσι, 4 ]σς' Ἀφροδίτης, 5 παρθένους  
 ὁμήλικας, 6 ]ησιν εὐπινέως, 11 ]νέον γαμ[ον] βρ[α-  
 χ]εῖ, 12-13 ]s, ὡς ὅθ' Ἡρακλ[ῆ]s | [Ἡβηι καλλικόμῳ  
 ῥοδοπήχεϊ πρ]ῶτον ἐμίχ[θ]η, 14 ]λεμμά[.]σ[.] ποσί,  
 15 ] ὑπὸ πηκτίδος· 17 ἀ]ρπ[α]λέον, 18 κα]κῶν [ὑπ]ο·

5, 13 suppl. West

ΚΕΡΚΩΠΕΣ

TESTIMONIA

Ps.-Herod. *Vita Homeri* 24

καὶ τοὺς Κέρκωπας καὶ Βατραχομαχίαν ... καὶ τᾶλλα  
 πάντα ὅσα παίγνιά ἐστιν Ὅμηρου ἐνταῦθα ἐποίησε  
 παρὰ τῷ Χίῳ ἐν Βολισσῳι.

Proclus, *Vita Homeri* 9

οἱ μέντοι γε ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὸν Κύκλον ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς  
 αὐτόν· προστιθέασι δέ τινες αὐτῷ καὶ παίγνιά τινα·  
 Μαργίτην ... Κέρκωπας, κτλ.

FRAGMENTUM

Harpocr. K 42

ἐν τοῖς εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερομένοις Κέρκωψιν δηλοῦται  
 ὡς ἐξαπατητῆρές τε ἦσαν καὶ ψεῦσται οἱ Κέρκωπες.

## MARGITES

### 9 *Oxyrhynchus papyrus* (second century)

... [like Paris] when he saw Helen and ... in the groves ... of Aphrodite ... [mai]dens of like age ... cleanly ... his new marr[iage in a sho]rt [time he consummated manfully,] as when Heracles first made love [to lovely-haired, rose-armed Hebe] ... with feet ... to the accompaniment of a harp ... g[la]d ... fr[om his troub]les ...

## CERCOPES

### TESTIMONIA

Pseudo-Herodotus, *Life of Homer*

And the *Cercopes*, the *Battle of Frogs*, ... and the rest of Homer's fun poems, he composed there in the Chian's house at Bolissos.

Proclus, *Life of Homer*

But the ancients also ascribe the *Cycle* to him, and some people add certain fun poems too: the *Margites* ... the *Cercopes*, etc.

### FRAGMENT

Harpocration, *Lexicon to the Orators*

In the *Cercopes* attributed to Homer it is stated that the *Cercopes* were "deceivers" and "liars."

*Suda κ 1406*

φασὶ τοὺς Κέρκωπας γενέσθαι

ψεύστας, ἡπεροπῆας, ἀμήχανά τ' ἔργα δαέντας,  
ἐξαπατητῆρας· πολλὴν δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἰόντες  
ἀνθρώπους ἀπάτασκον ἀλώμενοι ἥματα πάντα.

1 ἔργα δαέντας Lobeck: ἔργ' ἐάσαντας codd.

# ΕΠΙΚΙΧΛΙΔΕΣ

## TESTIMONIA

*Ath. 65a*

ὅτι τὸ εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερόμενον ἐπύλλιον, ἐπιγραφόμενον δὲ Ἐπικιχλίδες, ἔτυχε ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας διὰ τὸ τὸν Ὅμηρον αἰδοντα αὐτὸ τοῖς παισὶ κίχλας δῶρον λαμβάνειν, ἱστορεῖ Μέναιχμος ἐν τῷ περὶ τεχνιτῶν (*FGrHist* 131 F 3).

*Id. 639a*

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἑρωτικῶν (fr. 33 Wehrli) τὰ ἐρωτικά φησιν αἰσματα καὶ τὰ Λοκρικὰ καλούμενα οὐδὲν τῶν Σαπφούς καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος διαφέρειν. ἔτι δὲ τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου Ἐπικιχλίδων τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐμμέτρου ποιήσεως τούτων ἔχεταιί τινος τῶν παθῶν.

## EPIKICHLIDES

The *Suda*

They say that the Cercopes were

liars, tricksters, schooled in mischief, deceivers; they used to travel far abroad and trick people, always roaming.

## EPIKICHLIDES

### TESTIMONIA

Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

The little hexameter poem attributed to Homer and entitled *Epikichlides* got this name because when Homer recited it to the boys he was rewarded with thrushes (*kichlai*); so Menaechmus<sup>4</sup> records in his work *On Performing Artists*.

Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*

Clearchus in book two of his *Erotic Questions* says that the love songs and the so-called Locrian songs are no different from those of Sappho and Anacreon. And Archilochus' pieces and most of Homer's *Epikichlides*, in the realm of verse, also have to do with these emotions.

<sup>4</sup> A Sicyonian writer of the third century BC.

## HOMERIC APOCRYPHA

Ps.-Herod. *Vita Homeri* 24

καὶ τοὺς Κέρκωπας καὶ Βατραχομαχίαν καὶ Ψαρομα-  
χίην καὶ Ἑπταπακτικὴν καὶ Ἐπικιχλίδας καὶ τᾶλλα  
πάντα ὅσα παίγνιά ἐστιν Ὅμηρου ἐνταῦθα ἐποίησε  
παρὰ τῷ Χίωι ἐν Βολισσῶι.

Hesychius Milesius, *Vita Homeri* 6

ἀναφέρεται δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ποιήματα·  
Ἀμαζονία, Ἰλιάς Μικρά, Νόστοι, Ἐπικιχλίδες, κτλ.

### FRAGMENTUM?

Plato *Phaedr.* 252b

λέγουσι δὲ οἶμαί τινες Ὅμηριδῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἐπῶν  
δύο ἔπη εἰς τὸν Ἑρωτα, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον ὑβριστικὸν πάνυ  
καὶ οὐ σφόδρα τι ἔμμετρον· ὑμνοῦσι δὲ ᾧδε·

τὸν δ' ἦτοι θνητοὶ μὲν Ἑρωτα καλοῦσι ποτηνόν,  
ἀθάνατοι δὲ Πτέρωτα διὰ πτεροφύτορ' ἀνάγκην.

## EPIKICHLIDES

Pseudo-Herodotus, *Life of Homer*

And the *Cercopes*, the *Battle of Frogs*, the *Battle of Starlings*, the *Heptapaktike*, the *Epikichlides*, and the rest of Homer's fun poems, he composed there in the Chian's house at Bolissos.

Hesychius of Miletus, *Index of Famous Authors*

Certain other poems are also attributed to him (Homer): the *Amazonia*, the *Little Iliad*, the *Returns*, the *Epikichlides*, etc.

### FRAGMENT?

Plato, *Phaedrus*

And I believe some of the Homeridai recite from their Apocrypha<sup>5</sup> two verses about Eros, one of which is quite outrageous and not particularly metrical—this is how they hymn him:

And mortals call him Eros the flighty, while the immortals call him Pteros, because he makes one grow wings (*ptera*).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Literally "the stored-away verses." I attribute the fragment to the *Epikichlides* conjecturally on account of its content.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Anacreon, *PMG* 378; Alexis, fr. 20 Kassel-Austin.

## ΓΑΛΕΟΜΤΟΜΑΧΙΑ

P. Mich. inv. 6946, ed. H. S. Schibli, ZPE 53 (1983), 1–25

Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε νεῖκο[ς] ὅπως [πολέμ]ον  
 [κρυ]όει[τ]ος  
 ἦλθε μύεσσ', οἷ δ' ἀντὶ γαλῆς ἔστη[σαν ἀολλεῖς  
 [...αἰ][...][...].ἐπ[...].ωι προμάχιζε. ἐτ[...].ιδε  
 Τριξος.

χορ[δ]ῆς ἀρ[π]ακτῆ[ρ γ]ένετ' ἐμ μύε[σ]σιν  
 ἄριστος.

5 ἀλλ' οὐ μιν πάλιν αὖτις ἐδέξατο πατρὶς ἄρουρα·  
 πρῶτον γάρ μιν ἐλοῦσα γαλῇ μέσσον διέβρυνεν.  
 τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλοχος οἴκωι  
 ἐλέλειπτο,

τρ[ω]γαίωι {έν} θαλάμωι, φρεσὶν αἰμύλα πόλλ'  
 εἰδυῖα,

Κνισέωνος θ[ν]γάτη[ρ]. καὶ ἐλίσσετο πολλάκι  
 Τριξον.

10 “μῦς μῆν[α]ντα γαλῆς, ἀλλ' ἐμ μύεσσιν γεχώνει.”  
 .....[.] δ' ἄγγελ[ος] ἦλθε θέ[ω]ν ποσὶ  
 καρπαλίμοισι

Ἀρ[π]αγίδ[η]ς, ὃς ἐν[α]ίε Μν...[...].ν ἐνὶ δήμωι,  
 καὶ [μι]ν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύ[δα].  
 “τέθνηκεν δὴ Τριξο[ς] ἀμύμων ἐν πολέμοισιν.”

15 ἦ δ' ὅξυν στενάχουσα παρειάς τ' ἀ[μφί] τε  
 χαίτας

## WEASEL AND THE MICE

### THE BATTLE OF THE WEASEL AND THE MICE

Michigan papyrus (second–first century BC)

[Tell me, Muse,] of how the contention of chilling war  
[came upon the mice, and they made a un]ited stand  
against a weasel . . . fought in the front . . . Squeakos. He  
was the finest filcher of [tri]pe among the mice, but his na-  
tive soil did not receive him back again; for he was the first  
that the weasel seized and crunched through the middle.

His grieving wife was left at home<sup>7</sup> in their [h]oley  
chamber, that creature of much cunning, the daughter of  
[Grav]yon; and often she used to beseech Squeakos, “[As a  
mou]se, speak aloud among mice, not in front of a weasel.”  
[ . . . ] came running on swift feet to bring the news, the  
so[n of Filcher], who dwelt in the parish of the My. . .ans,<sup>8</sup>  
and he addressed her in winged words: “Noble Squeakos  
has [d]ied in battle.”

She, [shrilly] lamenting, [began to tear at] her cheeks

<sup>7</sup> Parody of *Iliad* 2.700 on the widow of Protesilaos, the first  
Greek to be killed in the Trojan War.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps a heroic community such as “Mycenaeans” (com-  
pare 51), or perhaps a comic name based on “Mouse.”

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Suppl. Burkert, Schibli, West

7 αλοχωι pap. οἴκοι Schibli

8 ]ωγιαιωι pap.



δρύπτετο, κ[αί]ν...[.] πόσιν ἀφ[ραίνουσα  
προσηύδα·

“[.....]δε ἔπη ζεύγνυ κλ[...].ρονα μο[ν]σαν  
ων[.....(.)]εἶρε χαλινούς εἰς φ[ρέ]νας ἀμάς.”  
οἱ μ[έν] νυ]ν δαίνυντο θεοὶ κατὰ [μα]κρὸν  
”Ολυμπον·

20 ἀλλ’ ὃ [γ’] ἐπὶ τρασιὴν [ἔκ]εν Κυλλή[ν]ιος  
Ἑρμῆς  
τ]ὼν [εὔ β]ριθομ[έ]νων, κα[...].τ[...].ων ἐξεγένοντο  
.....(.)... ἀγρ[ο]ῦ σταφυ[λ...].ατ[...].s ἀνὰ  
πάντ[α]ς  
ἀμπελε]ῶνα λιπόντ[ες, ἐπε]ὶ θεοῦ αἰ[σ]α συνῆγεν  
πάντας] ἐπὶ στρατιάν. [το]ῦς δ’ εἴσιδεν αἶψα  
κίον[τας]

25 ἀγχίνοο]ς χαλέη, καὶ ἐ[ὼι] προσελέξατο θυμῶι·  
“ὦ μοι ἐγώ,] τί ποτ’ ἄρ[α] μύ[ες σ]υνέλεχθεν  
ἀολλεῖς;  
δαιμαίν]ω, μή που πολ[έ]μου μέγα νεῖκος ἀέξει  
Ἄρης β]αι[ομ]όροισι μυσὶν [καὶ ἐμ]οῖ περὶ νίκης.  
ἀλκῆς] δ[ὴ] καὶ ἔγωγε νέ[ης] ἐμπίπ[λα]μαι ἦτορ  
30 .....].χ[...].μεινης φοι[...].λημ[ε]  
.....]θ[...]. εἰσηλθε, μέγ[αν] δ’ ὑπὸ π[υθ]μέν’  
ἐλαίης

(From lines 32–50 only a few letters survive.)

51 ο[ἱ] Σπάρτην ἐνέμοντο Πύλου θ’ ἱ[ερ]ὸν  
πτολ[ίεθρον·

and her hair ro[und ab]out, and, ins[ane with grief, . . . addressed] her husband:

“ . . . harness words . . . bridle upon my wits.”

The gods meanwhile were feasting on long Olympus; but Cyllenian Hermes [wen]t onto the cheese rack, one of the [well l]aden ones, and . . . they came out . . . of the field . . . [grape clu]sters . . . over all the . . ., leaving the [vineya]rd, for divine destiny was bringing them [all] together for the march to battle. They were quickly seen as they went forth by the [clever] weasel, and it spoke to its heart:

“[O alas,] why have the mi[ce] all gathered together? [I am afraid that Ares] may perhaps be fomenting a great battle contention for victory between the b[rief-d]oomed mice and m[yself]. Well, I too find my heart filled with ne[w valor . . .”

. . . it went into the . . ., and [concealed itself] under a large olive trunk . . .

. . . those who dwelt in Sparta and Pylos' h[ol]ly city; for

## HOMERIC APOCRYPHA

οὔτε γὰρ εἰς πλίνθους οὔτ' εἰς ὀρ[ο]φῆ[ν]  
 ἀν[έ]βαινον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρουραίοις πεδίοις ἐρέμοντ[ο κ]αὶ ὕ[λαις].  
 οὔτοι ἄρ' ἠγερέθοντο γαλῆ[s] ἐς φύλο[πι]ν  
 αἰ[νήν].

- 55 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Μυ[λ]εύς, ὃς [π]ᾶσι  
 δ[ί]καζεν·  
 ἦν γάρ τ' οὐδὲ πόδεσσ[ων] ἔτ' ἄρτιος, ἀλλὰ  
 νοῆ[μων],  
 τοῖσι δ' ἐνέπρεπε πᾶσι, παλαιὰ τε π[ο]λλά τε  
 εἰδώς·  
 ὃ σφ[ι]ν ἔϋ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ [μετέειπεν·  
 "ἦ δὴ ἐγὼ τάδ[ε π]ᾶντα, μύες, πα[ρὰ πατρὸς  
 ἄκουσα  
 60 ἥμετέρον· κείν[ο]ς δ[....]λακ[

## BATRACHOMACHIA

### TESTIMONIA

Mart. *Epigr.* 14.183, *Homeri Batrachomachia*

Perlege Maeonio cantatas carmine ranas,  
 et frontem nugis soluere disce meis.

Stat. praef. ad *Silv.* 1

Sed et Culicem legimus et Batrachomachiam etiam ag-  
 noscimus, nec quisquam est inlustrium poetarum qui non

## WEASEL AND THE MICE

they did not [seek their homes] among bricks or roofed building, but lived in the farm fields and the w[oodland]. These it was, then, that assembled for the fierce war of the weasel.<sup>9</sup>

Among them spoke Mi[ll]er, who [used to judge] all their d[isputes: he was no longer sound of foot, but he was int[elligent], and stood out among them all for his long and w[ide experience]. He addressed them with kind counsel and [spoke among them]:

“All about this matter, O mice, I [learned fr]om my [father]. He . . . ”<sup>10</sup>

## THE BATTLE OF FROGS AND MICE

### TESTIMONIA

Martial, *Epigrams*, “Homer’s Battle of Frogs”

Read the tale of the frogs as poetically narrated in Maeonian song and learn to smile at my trifles.

Statius, Preface to the *Silvae*

But we read the (Virgilian) *Culex*, and we acknowledge the *Battle of Frogs* too; there is none of the famous poets who

<sup>9</sup> The preceding lines parodied the Homeric Catalogue of Ships.

<sup>10</sup> Presumably what this wise elder had from his father was either a prophecy relating to the present conflict (compare *Odyssey* 8.564 ff., 13.172 ff.) or the memory of an older battle with a weasel that held useful lessons.

aliquid operibus suis stilo remissiore praeluserit.

Ps.-Herod. *Vita Homeri* 24

καὶ τοὺς Κέρκωπας καὶ Βατραχομαχίαν καὶ Ψαρομα-  
χίην καὶ Ἑπταπακτικὴν καὶ Ἐπικιχλίδας καὶ τᾶλλα  
πάντα ὅσα παίγνιά ἐστιν Ὅμηρου ἐνταῦθα ἐποίησε  
παρὰ τῷ Χίωι ἐν Βολισσῳι.

Ps.-Plut. *Vita Homeri* 1.5

ἔγραψε δὲ ποιήματα δύο, Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν· ὡς  
δέ τινες, οὐκ ἀληθῶς λέγοντες, γυμνασίας καὶ παιδιᾶς  
ἔνεκα καὶ Βατραχομνομαχίαν προσθεὶς καὶ Μαργί-  
την.

See also other references in the *Lives of Homer* edited in this  
volume: Proclus (9); Hesychius (6); also *Suda* π 1551 (above,  
*Testimonia to Margites*).

TEXT

Ἀρχόμενος πρώτης σελίδος χορὸν ἐξ Ἑλικῶνος  
ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐμὸν ἥτορ ἐπέυχομαι εἵνεκ' αἰοιδῆς,  
ἦν νέον ἐν δέλτοισιν ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκα,  
δῆριν ἀπειρεσίην, πολεμόκλονον ἔργον Ἄρηος,  
5 εὐχόμενος μερόπεσσιν ἐς οὐατα πᾶσι βαλέσθαι,  
πῶς μύες ἐν βατράχοισιν ἀριστεύσαντες ἔβησαν,  
γῆγενέων ἀνδρῶν μιμούμενοι ἔργα Γιγάντων,  
ὡς λόγος ἐν θνητοῖσιν ἔην· τοίην δ' ἔχεν ἀρχήν.

has not prefaced his works with something in a lighter style.

Pseudo-Herodotus, *Life of Homer*

And the *Cercopes*, the *Battle of Frogs*, the *Battle of Starlings*, the *Heptapaktike*, the *Epikichlides*, and the rest of Homer's fun poems, he composed there in the Chian's house at Bolissos.

Pseudo-Plutarch, *Life of Homer*

He wrote two poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; and as some say—incorrectly—he added the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* and *Margites* by way of exercise and light relief.

#### TEXT

As I begin on my first column, I pray for the chorus from Helicon<sup>11</sup> to come into my heart for the song that I have just set down in tablets on my knees,<sup>12</sup> bidding to bring that boundless conflict, the war-rousing work of Ares, to the ears of all mortals: how the mice went triumphant among the frogs, emulating the deeds of those earthborn men, the Giants, as the tale was told among men. And this is how it began.

<sup>11</sup> The Muses.

<sup>12</sup> An echo of Callimachus' prologue to the *Aetia*, fr. 1.21.

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1 πρώτης σελίδος Ζ: πρῶτον Μουσῶν *al*

- 10 μῦς ποτε διψαλέος, γαλέης κίνδυνον ἀλύξας  
 πλησίον, ἐν λίμνῃ λίχνον προσέθηκε γένειον,  
 ὕδατι τερπόμενος μελιηδέϊ· τὸν δὲ κατεῖδεν  
 λιμνόχαρις πολύφημος, ἔπος δ' ἐφθέγγετο τοῖον·  
 “ξείνε, τίς εἶ; πόθεν ἦλθες ἐπ' ἡίονα; τίς δέ σ'  
 ὁ φύσας;  
 πάντα δ' ἀλήθευσον, μὴ ψευδόμενόν σε νοήσω.  
 15 εἰ γάρ σε γνοίην φίλον ἄξιον, ἐς δόμον ἄξω,  
 δῶρα δέ τοι δώσω ξεινήϊα πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.  
 εἶμι δ' ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς Φυσίγναθος, ὃς κατὰ  
 λίμνην  
 τιμῶμαι βατράχων ἡγούμενος ἥματα πάντα·  
 καί με πατήρ Πηλεὺς ἀνεθρέψατο, Ὑδρομεδούσῃ  
 20 μιχθεὶς ἐν φιλότῃ παρ' ὄχθας Ἡριδανοῖο.  
 21 καὶ σέ δ' ὁρῶ καλόν τε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔξοχον  
 ἄλλων.”  
 24 τὸν δ' αὖ Ψυχάρπαξ ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε·  
 25 “τίπτε γένος τοῦμόν ζητεῖς; τὸ δὲ δῆλον ἅπασιν.  
 27 Ψυχάρπαξ μὲν ἐγὼ κικλήσκομαι· εἶμι δὲ κοῦρος  
 Τρωξάρταο πατρὸς μεγαλήτορος· ἡ δέ νυ μήτηρ  
 Λειχομύλη, θυγάτηρ Πτερνοτρώκτου βασιλῆος.  
 30 γείνατο δ' ἐν Καλύβῃ με καὶ ἐξεθρέψατο  
 βρωτοῖς,  
 σύκοις καὶ καρύοις καὶ ἐδέσμασι παντοδαποῖσιν.  
 πῶς δὲ φίλον ποιῇ με, τὸν εἰς φύσιν οὐδὲν  
 ὁμοῖον;  
 σοὶ μὲν γὰρ βίος ἐστὶν ἐν ὕδασι· αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γε

A mouse one day, thirsty after escaping the close danger of a weasel, set his greedy mouth to a pool, delighting in the honey-sweet water. A pooljoy of much renown saw him, and made utterance thus:

"Who are you, stranger? Whence come you to the strand? Who is he that begot you? Tell me everything truly, and let me not find you lying; for if I should judge you a worthy friend, I will take you to my home and give you many fine guest-gifts. I am king Puffjawe, who am honored across the pool as leader of the frogs for ever; the father who raised me was Mudfred,<sup>13</sup> who united in love with Aquareine by the banks of Eridanos. You too I perceive to be one outstanding for nobility and valor."

Filchcrumbe answered him and said: "Why do you inquire into my family? It is no secret: I am called Filchcrumbe, and I am the son of a heroic father, Champbread, while my mother is Lickmill, daughter of king Hamchamper. She bore me in Cottage,<sup>14</sup> and raised me on foodstuffs, figs, walnuts, eatables of every sort. But how can you make me your friend, who am quite unlike you in nature? You live in the waters, whereas my way is to eat

<sup>13</sup> The heroic name Peleus is here used with a play on the unrelated word *pelos* "mud."

<sup>14</sup> *Kalybe* "cottage", a typical habitat for mice, is here made into the name of a city, echoing the Homeric *Alybe*.

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20 Ἡριδανοῖο αΖ: ὠκεανοῖο l

22–23 interpolatio in l

26 interpolatio in JF



ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποις τρώγειν ἔθος· οὐ τί με  
λήθει

35 ἄρτος δισκοπάνιστος ἀπ' εὐκύκλου κανέοιο,  
οὐδὲ πλακοῦς τανύπεπλος ἔχων πολὺ

σησαμότυρον,

οὐ τόμος ἐκ πτέρνης, οὐχ ἥπατα λευκοχίτωνα,  
οὐ τυρὸς νεόπηκτος ἀπὸ γλυκεροῖο γάλακτος,  
οὐ χρηστὸν μελίτωμα, τὸ καὶ μάκαρες  
ποθέουσιν,

40 οὐδ' ὅσα πρὸς θοίνας μερόπων τεύχουσι  
μάγειροι

κοσμοῦντες χύτρας ἀρτύμασι παντοδαποῖσιν.

53 οὐ τρώγω ῥαφάνους, οὐ κράμβας, οὐ κολοκύντας,  
οὐδὲ πράσοις χλωροῖς ἐπιβόσκομαι, οὐδὲ  
σελίνοις·

55 ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμέτερ' ἐστὶν ἐδέσματα τῶν κατὰ  
λίμνην.”

πρὸς τάδε μειδήσας Φυσίγναθος ἀντίον ἠΐδα·  
“ἔεινε, λίην αὐχεῖς ἐπὶ γαστέρι· ἔστι καὶ ἡμῖν  
πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν λίμνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ θαύματ'  
ιδέσθαι.

60 ἀμφίβιον γὰρ ἔδωκε νομὴν βατράχοισι Κρονίων,  
σκιρτῆσαι κατὰ γαῖαν, ἐν ὕδασι σῶμα καλύψαι.

62 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι, εὐχερές ἐστιν·  
βαῖνέ μοι ἐν νώτοις, κράτει δέ με μή ποτ'  
ὀλίσθῃς,

ὅπως γηθόσυνος τὸν ἐμὸν δόμον εἰσαφίκηαι.”

whatever men do: I never miss the double-milled bread from the circular basket, or the bun well coated with sesame and cheese, or the slice of ham, or the liver white-dressed with tripe, or the cheese new-set from sweet milk, or the good honeycake that even the blessed gods crave, or whatever cooks prepare for mortal feasts, decking their dishes with condiments of every sort. I eat no radishes, no cabbages, no marrows, nor do I feed on green leeks or celery: these are the foods of you pool-dwellers."

Puffjawe smiled at this and replied: "Stranger, you make too much of your stomach. We too have many wonderful things to see, in the pool and on land. For the son of Kronos has given frogs an amphibious life, to hop on land, to hide in the waters. If you care to learn about it, it is easily done. Climb on my back, and hold on to me in case you slip off, so that you may come in gladness to my home."

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42-52 interpolatio in *l*

61 interpolatio in *aZ*

- 65 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ νῶτ' ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἔβαινε  
τάχιστα,  
χείρας ἔχων ἀπαλοῖο κατ' αὐχένος ἄμματι  
κούφωι.
- 78 οὐχ οὕτω νώτοισιν ἐβάστασε φόρτον ἔρωτος  
ταῦρος, ὅτ' Εὐρώπην διὰ κύματος ἦγ' ἐπὶ  
Κρήτην,  
ὥς μὦν ὑψώσας ἐπινώτιον ἦγεν ἐς οἶκον
- 81 βάτραχος ἀπλώσας ὠχρὸν δέμας ὕδατι λευκῶι.  
67 καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔχαιρεν, ὅτ' ἔβλεπε γείτονας  
ὄρμους,  
ινῆξει τερπόμενος Φυσιγνάθου· ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥα  
κύμασι πορφυρέοισιν ἐκλύζετο, πολλὰ δακρύων
- 70 ἄχρηστον μετάνοιαν ἐμέμφετο, τίλλε δὲ χαίτας,  
καὶ πόδας ἔσφιγγεν κατὰ γαστέρος, ἐν δέ οἱ  
ἦτορ  
πάλλετ' ἀηθείηι, καὶ ἐπὶ χθόνα βούλεθ' ἰκέσθαι·  
δεινὰ δ' ὑπεστονάχιζε φόβου κρυνόεντος ἀνάγκηι.  
{οὐρῇν πρῶτ' ἐπλωσεν ἐφ' ὕδασιν ἡὔτε κώπην
- 75 σύρων, εὐχόμενός τε θεοῖς ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι  
ὕδασι πορφυρέοισι δ' ἐκλύζετο, πολλὰ δ'  
ἐβώστρει.}
- 82 ὕδρος δ' ἐξαπίνης ἀνεφαίνετο, πικρὸν ὄραμα  
ἀμφοτέροις, ὀρθὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ὕδατος εἶχε τράχηλον.  
τοῦτον ἰδὼν κατέδυσεν Φυσίγναθος, οὗ τι νοήσας
- 85 οἶον ἐταῖρον ἐμελλεν ἀπολλύμενον καταλείπειν·  
δύ δὲ βάθος λίμνης καὶ ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν.  
κείνος δ' ὥς ἀφέθη, πέσεν ὕπτιος εὐθύς ἐφ' ὕδωρ·

With these words he offered his back, and the mouse at once climbed on, clasping his paws lightly round the soft neck. It was not like this that the bull carried his love burden on his back, when he carried Europa through the waves to Crete,<sup>15</sup> not as when the frog raised the mouse on his back and set off to take him home, extending his yellow body on the clear water. At first the mouse enjoyed it, while he could see the landing places nearby, and delighted in Puffjawe's swimming. But when he began to be washed by turbulent waves, with many a tear he cursed his unavailing change of heart, tore his hair, and clenched his feet on the frog's belly; his heart throbbed at the unfamiliar situation, he wanted to make land, and he groaned horribly in the compulsion of icy fear. {At first he sailed trailing his tail on the water like a steering oar, and praying to the gods to make land, but he was being washed by turbulent waves, and uttered many a shout.}

Suddenly a water snake appeared—an unwelcome sight for both of them—rearing its neck erect above the water. Seeing it, Puffjawe dived, not realizing what a comrade he would be leaving behind to perish; he dived to the depths of the pool and so avoided a dark fate. The mouse, cast off, fell backwards straight into the water, {and

<sup>15</sup> The poet alludes to the narrative of Moschus' famous *epyllion Europa*.

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78–81 post 66 *tra*. *Ludwich*

80 ὑψώσας *Althaus*: ἀπλώσας *codd.*

81 ἀπλώσας *aZ*: ὑψώσας *l*      74–76 *del. Draheim*

74 ἐπλωσεν *West*: ἐπλασεν, ἤπλωσεν, *sim., codd.*

77 *interpolatio in aZ*

{καὶ χεῖρας ἔσφιγγε καὶ ὀλλύμενος κατέτριζε·}  
πολλάκι μὲν κατέδυνεν ὑφ' ὕδατι, πολλάκι δ'  
αὖτε

90 λακτίζων ἀνέδυνε· μόρον δ' οὐκ ἦν ὑπαλύξαι·  
δενόμεναι δὲ τρίχες πλείον βάρος εἶλκον ἐπ'  
αὐτῷ.

ὑδασι δ' ὀλλύμενος τοίους ἐφθέγγετο μύθους·  
“οὐ λήσεις γε θεούς, Φυσίγναθε, ταῦτα  
ποιήσας,

ναυηγὸν ῥύψας ἀπὸ σώματος ὥς ἀπὸ πέτρης.  
95 οὐκ ἄν μου κατὰ γαῖαν ἀμείνων ἦσθα, κάκιστε,  
παγκρατίῳ τε πάλῃ τε καὶ εἰς δρόμον· ἀλλὰ  
πλανήσας

εἰς ὕδωρ μ' ἔρριψας. ἔχει θεὸς ἕκδικον ὄμμα·  
ποινὴν αὖ τείσεις σὺ μυῶν στρατῷ, οὐδ'  
ὑπαλύξεις.”

ὥς εἰπὼν ἀπέπνευσεν ἐν ὕδασι. τὸν δὲ  
κατεῖδεν

100 Λειχοπίναξ, ὄχθησιν ἐφεζόμενος μαλακῇσιν·  
δεινὸν δ' ἐξολόλυξε, δραμῶν δ' ἤγγειλε μύεσσιν·  
ὥς δ' ἔμαθον τὴν μοῖραν, ἔδν χόλος αἰνὸς  
ἅπαντας.

καὶ τότε κηρύκεσσιν ἐοῖς ἐκέλευον ὑπ' ὄρθρον  
κηρύσσειν ἀγορὴν ἐς δώματα Τρωξάρταο,  
105 πατρὸς δυστήνου Ψυχάρπαγος, ὃς κατὰ λίμνην  
ὑπτιος ἐξήπλωτο νεκρὸν δέμας, οὐδὲ παρ' ὄχθας  
ἦν ἤδη τλήμων, μέσσωι δ' ἐπενήχετο πόντῳ.  
ὥς δ' ἦλθον σπεύδοντες ἅμ' ἡοί, πρῶτος ἀνέστη

clenched his paws, and squeaked as he perished}. Several times he sank into the water, and several times he surfaced again, kicking, but he could not avoid his doom, and his wet fur weighed him down even more. As he perished in the waters he uttered these words:

“You will not escape the gods’ notice, Puffjawe, in doing this, casting me shipwrecked from your body as from a rock. You would not have got the better of me on land, you villain, in the pankration, in wrestling, in running, but you led me astray and cast me into the water. God has an avenging eye: you will pay the penalty to the mouse army, and not escape.”

With these words he expired in the waters. But he was seen by Lickplatter, who was sitting on the grassy banks. With a fearful shriek, he ran to tell the mice. When they heard what had befallen, they were all filled with anger. Then they instructed their heralds to summon an assembly at first light at the house of Champbread, the father of the unfortunate Filchcrumbe, whose dead body was stretched out belly-up in the pool; no more was the poor creature to be found on the banks, but floating out at sea. When they came hastening at dawn, Champbread was the first to rise,

88 del. Althaus

89 ὑφ’ rec.: ἐφ’ codd. (ἐν J)

98 ποιῶν αὖ τίσεις σὺ Barnes: ποιῶν σὺν τίσεις l, τοῖς τίσουσί σε a, [τοῖς τίσουσι] Z

- Τρωξάρτης ἐπὶ παιδὶ χολούμενος, εἶπέ τε μῦθον·  
 110      “ὦ φίλοι, εἰ καὶ μῦνος ἐγὼ κακὰ πολλὰ  
             πέπονθα  
     ἐκ βατράχων, ἣ πείρα κακὴ πάντεσσι τέτυκται.  
     εἶμι δὲ νῦν ἐλεεινός, ἐπεὶ τρεῖς παῖδας ὄλεσσα·  
     καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτόν γε κατέκτανεν ἀρπάξασα  
     ἐχθίστη γαλήῃ, τρώγλης ἔκτοσθεν ἐλούσα,  
 115      τὸν δ' ἄλλον πάλιν ἄνδρες ἀπηνέες ἐς μόρον  
             εἶλξαν  
     καινοτέραις τέχναις, ξύλινον δόλον ἐξευρόντες,  
     ἣν παγίδα κλείουσι, μῶν ὀλέτειραν εὐόυσαν·  
     ὃς δ' ἔτ' ἔην ἀγαπητὸς ἐμοὶ καὶ μητέρι κεδνῇ,  
     τοῦτον ἀπέπνιξεν βάτραχος κακὸς ἐς βυθὸν  
             αἶξας.  
 120      ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ὀπλίζεσθε καὶ ἐξέλθωμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς.”  
 122      ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέπεισε καθοπλίζεσθαι ἅπαντας.  
 124      κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτον ἐφήρμοσαν, εἰς δύο μοίρας  
 125      ῥήξαντες κυάμους χλωρούς, εὖ δ' ἀσκήσαντες,  
     οὓς αὐτοὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ἐπιστάντες κατέτρωξαν.  
     θώρηκας δ' εἶχον καλαμορραφῶν ἀπὸ βυρσῶν,  
     οὓς γαλήην δείραντες ἐπισταμένως ἐποίησαν.  
     ἀσπίς δ' ἦν λύχνου τὸ μεσόμφαλον· ἣ δέ νυ  
             λόγχη  
 130      εὐμήκης βελόνη, παγχάλκεον ἔργον Ἄρης·  
     ἣ δὲ κόρυς τὸ λέπυρον ἐπὶ κροτάφοις ἐρεβίνθου.  
     οὕτω μὲν μῦες ἦσαν ἐν ὅπλοις· ὥς δ' ἐνόησαν  
     βάτραχοι, ἐξανέδυσαν ἀφ' ὕδατος, εἰς δ' ἓνα  
             χῶρον

angered about his son, and spoke thus:

"Friends, even though I alone have suffered grievous wrong from the frogs, this is a foretaste of evil for us all. I am now pitiable indeed, as I have lost three sons. The first was seized and killed by a most hateful weasel who caught him outside our hole; the second was lured to his doom with newfangled arts by cruel men who invented a wooden trap that they call a deadfall, being a destroyer of mice;<sup>16</sup> and the one that still remained, beloved by me and his good mother, has been drowned by an evil frog darting into the depths. So come, arm yourselves, and let us go forth against them."

With these words he persuaded them all to arm themselves. First they fitted on greaves, breaking in half and fashioning well the green bean pods that they had set upon and gnawed during the night. They had corslets from straw-sewn hides that they had made skilfully after skinning a weasel. Their shield was the bossed lid of a lamp; their spear a long needle, bronze work of the War god; and the helmet on their heads the husk of a chickpea.

So the mice were in arms; and when the frogs saw it, they came up out of the water and gathered in one place

<sup>16</sup> Another echo of Callimachus' *Aetia*: fr. 177.16-17.

117 κλείουσι Ludwich: καλέουσι codd.

118 ὃς δ' ἔτ' ἔην West: (ὁ) τρίτος (δ') ἦν codd.

121 , 123 interpolationes in l                      124 ἐφήρμοσαν εἰς δύο  
μηρούς Zl (μοίρας Barnes): περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθεντο a

127 καλαμορραφέων Herwerden: καλαμοστεφέων a, κα-  
λῶν εὐτρεφέων l (-τραφ- Z in ras.)

132 ἐν ὄπλοις Barnes: ἔνοπλοι codd.



- 135 ἐλθόντες βουλὴν ξύναγον πολέμοιο κακοῖο.  
 σκεπτομένων δ' αὐτῶν πόθεν ἢ στάσις ἢ τίς ὁ  
 μῦθος,  
 κήρυξ ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε φέρων ράβδον μετὰ χερσίν,  
 Τυρογλύφου νῆος μεγαλήτορος Ἐμβασίχυτρος,  
 ἀγγέλλων πολέμοιο κακὴν φάτιν, εἶπέ τε τοῖα·  
 “ὦ βάτραχοι, μύες ὕμιν ἀπειλήσαντες  
 ἔπεμψαν  
 140 εἰπεῖν ὀπλίζεσθαι ἐπὶ πτόλεμόν τε μάχην τε.  
 εἶδον γὰρ καθ' ὕδωρ Ψυχάρπαγα, τόν περ  
 ἔπεφνεν  
 ὑμέτερος βασιλεὺς Φυσίγναθος. ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε,  
 οἳ τινες ἐν βατράχοισιν ἀριστῆες γεγάατε.”  
 ὥς εἰπὼν ἀπέφηνε· λόγος δ' εἰς οὐατα πάντων  
 145 εἰσελθὼν ἐτάραξε φρένας βατράχων ἀγερῶχων.  
 μεμφομένων δ' αὐτῶν Φυσίγναθος εἶπεν  
 ἀναστάς·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἔκτεινον ἐγὼ μῦν, οὐδὲ κατεῖδον  
 ὀλλύμενον· πάντως δ' ἐπνίγη παίζων παρὰ  
 λίμνην,  
 νήξεις τὰς βατράχων μιμούμενος· οἳ δὲ κάκιστοι  
 150 νῦν ἐμὲ μέμφονται τὸν ἀναίτιον. ἀλλ' ἄγε  
 βουλὴν  
 ζητήσωμεν, ὅπως δολίους μύας ἐξολέσωμεν.  
 τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα·  
 σώματα κοσμήσαντες ἐν ὅπλοις στῶμεν ἅπαντες  
 ἄκροισι παρὰ χεῖλεσσιν, ὅπου κατάκρημνος ὁ  
 χῶρος·

for a council of woeful war. As they were enquiring what was the source of dissension, or what the word was, a herald approached bearing a rod in his hands, the son of the hero Cheesegraver, Paddlepot, bringing the woeful declaration of war, and he said:

“O frogs, the mice challenge you and send me to tell you to arm yourselves for battle. For they have seen Filchcrumbe in the water, whom your king Puffjawe has slain. So prepare to fight, whichever of you are the champions among the frogs.”

So he made his declaration; and his words entered the ears of all the doughty frogs and disturbed their spirits. As they criticized him, Puffjawe arose and said:

“Friends, I did not kill the mouse or see him perish. He surely drowned while fooling about at the poolside, trying to swim like the frogs. And now the villains are blaming me, who am innocent. Well then, let us look for a plan to destroy these crafty mice. I will tell you what seems best to me. Let us all array ourselves in armor and take our stand on the edge of the bank, where the ground is precipitous,

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141 τόν Brandt: ὅν codd.

- 155 ἡνίκα δ' ὄρμηθέντες ἐφ' ἡμέας ἐξέλθωσιν,  
 δραξάμενοι κορύθων, ὅς τις σχεδὸν ἀντίος ἔλθῃ,  
 εἰς λίμνην αὐτοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳι εὐθὺ βάλῳμεν.  
 οὕτω γὰρ πνίξαντες ἐν ὕδασι τοὺς ἀκολύμβους  
 στήσομεν εὐθύμως τὸ μυοκτόνον ὧδε τρόπαιον.”
- 160 ὥς εἰπὼν συνέπεισε καθοπλίζεσθαι ἅπαντας.  
 φύλλοις μὲν μαλαχῶν ἀμφὶ κνήμας ἐκάλυσαν,  
 θώρηκας δ' εἶχον καλοὺς χλοερῶν ἀπὸ σεύτλων,  
 φύλλα δὲ τῶν κραμβῶν εἰς ἀσπίδας εὖ ἥσκησαν,  
 ἔγχος δ' ὀξύσχοινος ἐκάστωι μακρὸς ἀρήρει,
- 165 καὶ κόρυθες κοχλιῶν λεπτῶν ἐκάλυπτε κάρηνα.  
 φραξάμενοι δ' ἔστησαν ἐπ' ὄχθῃς ὑψηλῇσιν  
 σείοντες λόγχας, θυμοῦ δ' ἔμπληντο ἕκαστος.
- Zeὺς δὲ θεοὺς καλέσας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα  
 καὶ πολέμου πληθὺν δείξας κρατεροὺς τε μαχητάς
- 170 πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἡδ' ἔγχεα μακρὰ φέροντας,  
 οἷος Κενταύρων στρατὸς ἔρχεται ἡὲ Γιγάντων,  
 ἡδὺν γελῶν ἐρέεινε, τίνες βατράχοισιν ἀρωγοί  
 ἢ μυσὶν ἀθανάτων, καὶ Ἀθηναίην προσέειπεν·  
 “ὦ θύγατερ, μυσὶν ἦ ῥ' ἀπαλεξήσουσα  
 πορεύσῃ;
- 175 καὶ γὰρ σοῦ κατὰ νηὸν αἰὲ σκιρτῶσιν ἅπαντες  
 κνίσῃσι τερπόμενοι καὶ ἐδέσμασι παντοδαποῖσιν.”

161 ἀμφὶ κνήμας Ludwich (ἀμφὶ δὲ κν. rec.): κνήμας ἀμφ-  
 codd.

162 καλῶν χλοερῶν aZ (καλοὺς West): χλωρῶν πλατέων l

and when they come out and attack us, let us seize by the helmet whoever comes up close and throw them straight into the pool to join Filchcrumbe. So we shall drown those nonswimmers in the waters, and in good heart we will set up here the trophy to commemorate the killing of the mice."

With these words he persuaded them all to arm themselves. They covered their shanks in mallow leaves; they had fine corslets from green mangelwurzels; they fashioned cabbage leaves well into shields; each had a long needle-rush held firm for a spear; and helmets from thin snail shells protected their heads. On guard, they took their stand upon the high banks, brandishing their spears, and each one full of spirit.

Zeus called the gods to the starry heaven, and pointing out the massing for battle and the hardy warriors, big and numerous and carrying long spears, much as the Centaurs' or the Giants' army goes forth, he laughed amiably and asked which of the immortals were aiding the frogs or the mice, and he addressed Athena:

"Daughter, are you going to go to defend the mice? They are always skipping about your temple, enjoying the savor of the sacrificial meat and the eatables of every sort."

- ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη Κρονίδης· τὸν δὲ προσέειπεν Ἀθήνη·  
 “ὦ πάτερ, οὐκ ἄν πώ ποτ' ἐγὼ μυσὶ τειρομένοισιν  
 ἐλθοίμην ἐπαρωγός, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ μ' ἔοργαν  
 180 στέμματα βλάπτουντες καὶ λύχνους εἶνεκ' ἐλαίου.  
 τοῦτο δέ μοι λίην ἔδακε φρένας, οἷον ἔρεξαν·  
 πέπλον μου κατέτρωξαν, ὃν ἐξύφηνα καμουῖσα  
 ἐκ ῥοδάνης λεπτῆς καὶ στήμονα μακρὸν ἔνησα,  
 καὶ τρώγλας ἐτέλεσσαν· ὁ δ' ἠπητής μοι ἐπέστη,  
 185 καὶ πράσσει με τόκον· τό γε ῥίγιον ἀθανάτοισιν·  
 χρησαμένη γὰρ ἔνησα, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ἀνταποδοῦναι.  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς βατράχοισιν ἀρηγέμεν οὐκ ἐθελήσω·  
 εἴσι γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ φρένας ἔμπεδοι, ἀλλὰ με  
 πρῶϊν  
 ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιοῦσαν, ἐπεὶ λίην ἐκοπώθην,  
 190 ὕπνον δενομένην οὐκ εἶασαν θορυβοῦντες  
 οὐδ' ὀλίγον καταμῦσαι· ἐγὼ δ' αὔπνος κατεκείμην  
 τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀλγοῦσα, ἕως ἐβόησεν ἀλέκτωρ.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε παυσώμεσθα, θεοί, τούτοισιν ἀρήγειν,  
 μή κέ τις ὑμείων τρωθῇ βέλει ὀξυόεντι·  
 195 εἴσι γὰρ ἀγχέμαχοι, εἰ καὶ θεὸς ἀντίον ἔλθοι·  
 πάντες δ' οὐρανόθεν τερπώμεθα δῆριν ὀρώντες.”  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη· τῇ δ' αὐτ' ἐπεπείθοντο θεοὶ ἄλλοι.  
 πάντες δ' αὐτ' εἰσῆλθον ἀολλέες εἰς ἓνα χῶρον·  
 καὶ τότε κώνωπες μεγάλας σάλπιγγας ἔχοντες

So said the son of Kronos, but Athena answered him: "Father, I would never go to aid the mice in their distress; they have done me much harm, damaging my garlands and my lamps on account of the oil.<sup>17</sup> And I was particularly stung by this that they did: they chewed up my robe that I wove with much effort from a fine woof, and I had spun a long warp for it, and they made holes; and the sempster is at my door extorting interest payments—a horrid thing for immortals to put up with—because I borrowed for my spinning, and I can't pay it back. Even so, I won't be wanting to help the frogs, for they're not sensible creatures either. The other day when I came back from battle, worn out and needing to sleep, they wouldn't let me close my eyes even for a little with their racket; I lay there sleepless with an aching head till the cock crowed. So, gods, let's forget about aiding these creatures, in case one of you gets wounded by a sharp missile: they are close fighters, even if a god should come against them. Let's all just enjoy watching the battle from heaven." So she spoke, and the other gods went along with her advice.

All the combatants came in together to one place, and then mosquitoes with big trumpets sounded the signal for

<sup>17</sup> A further echo of Callimachus' *Aetia*: fr. 177.22.

- 200 δεινὸν ἐσάλπιγξαν πολέμου κτύπον· οὐρανόθεν δὲ  
 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης βρόντησε, τέρας πολέμοιο κακοῖο.  
 πρῶτος δ' Ὑψιβόας Λειχήνορα οὔτασε δουρί  
 ἐσταότ' ἐν προμάχοις κατὰ γαστέρα ἐς μέσον  
 ἦπαρ·  
 καδ δ' ἔπεσε πρηνής, ἀπαλὰς δ' ἐκόνισεν ἐθείρας.
- 206 Τρωγλοδύτης δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀκόντισε  
 Πηλείωνος,  
 πῆξεν δ' ἐν στέρνῳ στιβαρὸν δόρυ· τὸν δὲ  
 πεσόντα  
 εἶλε μέλας θάνατος, ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ σώματος ἔπτη·  
 Σευτλαῖον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε βαλὼν κέαρ  
 Ἐμβασίχυτρος.
- 214 Ὀκμιίδην δ' ἄχος εἶλε, καὶ ἤλασεν ὅξείϊ σχοίνῳ  
 213 Τρωγλοδύτην ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος, ἥριπε δ' εὐθύς.  
 215 οὐδ' ἐξέσπασεν ἔγχος, ἐναντίβιον δ' ἐνόησεν  
 218 Κρουστοφάγον φεύγοντα· βαθείαις δ' ἔμπεσεν  
 ὄχθαις,  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἀπέληγεν ἐν ὕδασιν· ἤλασε δ' αὐτόν.
- 220 κάππεσε δ', οὐδ' ἀνένευσεν, ἐβάπτετο δ' αἵματι  
 λίμνῃ  
 πορφυρέῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ παρ' ἡιόν' ἐξετανύσθη.  
 †χορδῆσιν λιπαρῆσί τ' ἐπορνυμένου λαγόνεσσιν†

the dread battle clash, while from heaven Zeus the son of Kronos thundered as a portent of woeful war.

First Loudhaylor hit Lickhart with his spear as he stood in the front line, getting him in the belly, right in the liver, and he fell headlong, defiling his gentle whiskers in the dust.

After him, Creephole aimed a lance at MacMudd, and fixed his stout spear in his chest: he fell, the darkness of death seized him, and his soul flew forth from his body. And Mangelwurzel was hit in the heart and killed by Paddlepot.

MacBasil was seized by grief, and with his sharp reed he struck Creephole through his tender neck, and he collapsed at once. He had not pulled his spear out again, when he saw Pastrygobble running towards him in flight: he had fallen down the steep banks, but he kept going even in the water. He struck him, and he fell down, he did not swim up again, and the pool was tinged with his crimson blood, while his body was stretched out on the strand. †As he rushed at the guts and the sleek flanks.†<sup>18</sup> And Cheese-

<sup>18</sup> This line, if genuine, is clearly out of place.

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205 interpolatio in *l*

210–212 interpolatio in *l*

214–213 hoc ordine *a(Z)*; 214 om. *l*

215 ἐναντίβιον West: ἐναντίον ὥς codd.

216–217 interpolatio in *l*

218 Κρουστοφάγον West: Κουστο- *aZ*: Κραμβο- *l*

220 οὐδ' Barnes: οὐκ codd.

222 huius loci alienus; deest in *l*



Τυροφάγον δ' αὐτῆισιν ἐπ' ὄχθης ἐξενάριξεν.

Πτερογλύφον δὲ ἰδὼν Καλαμίνθιος εἰς φόβον  
ἦλθεν,

225 ἤλατο δ' ἐς λίμνην φεύγων, τὴν ἀσπίδα ῥύψας.

Ἵγραιὸν δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνεν ἀμύμων Ἐμβασίχυτρος,  
228 χερμαδίῳ πλήξας κατὰ βρέγματος· ἐγκέφαλος δέ  
ἐκ ῥινῶν ἔσταξε, παλάσσετο δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

230 Λειχοπίνακα δ' ἔπεφνεν ἀμύμων

Βορβοροκοίτης,

ἔγχει ἐπαῖξας· τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσε κάλυψεν·

Πρασσεῖος δ' ἐσιδὼν ποδὸς εἵλκυσε νεκρὸν ἑόντα,  
ἐν λίμνῃ δ' ἀπέπνιξε κρατήσας χειρὶ τένοντα.

Ψυχάρπαξ δ' ἦμυν' ἐτάρου πέρι τεθνεῶτος,  
235 καὶ βάλε Πρασσεῖον μήπω γαίης ἐπιβάντα·  
πίπτε δέ οἱ πρόσθεν, ψυχὴ δ' Ἀϊδόσδε βεβήκει.  
Κραμβοβάτης δ' ἐσιδὼν πηλοῦ δράκα ῥύψεν ἐπ'  
αὐτόν,

καὶ τὸ μέτωπον ἔχρισε καὶ ἐξετύφλου παρὰ μικρόν·  
θυμώθη δ' ἄρα κείνος, ἐλὼν δ' ἄρα χειρὶ παχείῃ  
240 κείμενον ἐν δαπέδῳ λίθον ὄβριμον, ἄχθος  
ἀρούρης,

τῷ βάλε Κραμβοβάτην ὑπὸ γούνατα· πᾶσα δ'  
ἐκλάσθη

κνήμη δεξιτερή, πέσε δ' ὕπτιος ἐν κονίησιν.

gobble he slew on the bank itself.

On seeing Hamgraver, Catmint became afraid, and leapt into the pool in flight, throwing down his shield, while Dampfred was slain by the worthy Paddlepot, who hit him on the pate with a boulder; his brain ran out through his nostrils, and the earth was spattered with blood.

Lickplatter was slain by the worthy Sludgécouch, who charged at him with his spear, and darkness covered his eyes. Leekhold on seeing this dragged the dead mouse away by the foot and drowned him in the pool, holding on to his ankle.

Filchcrumbe came to the defence of his dead comrade, and hit Leekhold before he had got back on land: he fell before him, and his soul departed to Hades. Mountcabbage on seeing this hurled a handful of mud at him, which smeared his forehead and nearly blinded him. He was enraged, and taking in his stout hand a formidable stone that was lying on the ground, a burden on the soil, he hit Mountcabbage with it below the knee; his whole right shank was smashed, and he fell on his back in the dust.

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226 Ὑγραῖον West: Λιτραῖον fere aZ (λιμν- T): Ὑδροχαρίς l  
in 227, qui est 226 in l refictus

234 ἐτάρου πέρι τεθνεῖωτος Z: ἐτάρων . . . -ώτων al

239 θνυμώθη recc.: ουνώθη L, μουνώθη JF: ὠργίσθη Z,  
ὀργισθεῖς a

- Κραυγασίδης δ' ἤμυνε καὶ ἰθὺς βαῖνεν ἐπ'  
αὐτόν,  
τύψε δέ μιν μέσσην κατὰ γαστέρα· πᾶς δέ οἱ  
εἴσω
- 245 ὀξύσχοιnos ἔδυνε, χαμαὶ δ' ἔκχυντο ἅπαντα  
ἔγκατ' ἐφελκομένωι ὑπὸ δούρατι χειρὶ παχείηι.  
Σιτοφάγος δ' ὥς εἶδεν ἐπ' ὄχθησιw ποταμοῖο,
- 250 Τρωξάρτης δ' ἔβαλεw Φυσίγναθον ἐς ποδὸς  
ἄκρον·  
ἔσχατος ἐκ λίμνης ἀνεδύσето, {τείρετο δ' αἰνῶς}
- 248 σκάζων ἐκ πολέμου ἀνεχάζετο, τείρετο δ' αἰνῶς·  
249 ἦλατο δ' <αἰψ> ἐς τάφρον, ὅπως φύγοι αἰπὺν  
ὄλεθρον.
- 252 Πρασσαῖος δ' ὥς εἶδεν ἔθ' ἡμίπνοον προπεσόντα,  
ἦλθε διὰ προμάχων καὶ ἀκόντισεν ὀξύσχοινον,  
οὐδ' ἔρρηξε σάκος, σχέτο δ' αὐτοῦ δουρὸς  
ἀκωκή.
- 255 τοῦ δ' ἔβαλε τρυφάλειαν ἀμύμονα τετραλέπυρον  
δῖος Ὀριγανίων, μιμούμενος αὐτὸν Ἄρρη,  
ὃς μόνος ἐν βατράχοισιν ἀρίστευεν καθ' ὄμιλον.
- ὠρμησαν δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' αὐτόν· ὃ δ' ὥς ἶδεν, οὐχ  
ὑπέμεινεν  
ἥρωας κρατερούς, ἀλλ' ἔνδυ βένθεσι λίμνης.

MacCroak came to the defence and went straight for him. He struck him square in the belly: his needle reed went right inside, and all his entrails dropped out on the ground as he withdrew the spear with his stout hand. When Graingobble saw this on the river bank, . . .<sup>19</sup>

Champbread hit Puffjawe on the tip of his foot: he was the last to come up out of the pool . . . He withdrew limping from the battle, in sore distress, and leapt into the ditch to escape sheer destruction. . . . When Leekhart saw him still advancing half alive, he came through the front line and hurled his needle-reed, but did not break his shield; the spearpoint was held there. But his good four-husk helmet was struck by noble Origano, emulating the very War god; he alone among the frogs was triumphing amid the throng . . . And they went for him. When he saw them, he did not stand against the doughty heroes, but dived into the depths of the pool.

<sup>19</sup> The following passage is incoherent at several points and seems to be lacunose.

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243 ἰθὺς Stadtmüller: ἀνθίς codd.

244 μιν Wolf: οἱ codd.

247–252 lacunas stat. Ludwig; 250 post 247 trai. Stadtmüller; ut supra West

247 Σιτοφάγος LF: Τρωγλοδύτης aZ: Πρασσοφάγος J

252 ἡμίπνοον Draheim: -πνουν codd.

255 τοῦ δ' recc.: οὐδ' vett. τετραλέπυρον West: καὶ

τετράχυτρον codd. (καὶ om. recc.)

post 257 lac. stat. West

258 ὥρμησαν recc.: -σεν vett.

259 ἔνδν Weissenfels: ἔδν fere codd. (ένδυνεν Q)

- 260 ἦν δέ τις ἐν μυσὶν Μεριδάρπαξ, ἔξοχος ἄλλων,  
Κναίσωνος φίλος υἱὸς ἀμύμονος ἀρτεπιβούλου,  
<ὅς . . . . .>  
οἴκαδ' ἰὼν, πολέμου δὲ μετασχεῖν παῖδ' ἐκέλευεν·
- 264 οὗτος ἀναρπάξαι βατράχων γενεὴν ἐπαπείλει,  
263 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἐστήκει μενεαίνων ἱφί μάχεσθαι.  
265 καὶ ῥήξας καρύοιο μέσσην ῥάχιν εἰς δύο μοίρας  
φράγδην ἀμφοτέροισι κενώμασι χεῖρας ἔθηκεν.  
· · · · ·  
οἱ δὲ τάχος δείσαντες ἔβαν πάντες κατὰ λίμνην.
- 270 καὶ τότε πολλυμένους βατράχους ὠικτιρε  
Κρονίων,  
κινήσας δὲ κάρη τοίην ἐφθέγξατο φωνήν·  
“ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα ἔργον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶμαι·  
{οὐ μικρόν με πλήσσει Μεριδάρπαξ, ὅς κατὰ  
λίμνην}  
Ἄρπαξ ἐν βατράχοισιν ἀμείβεται· ἀλλὰ τάχιστα  
275 Παλλάδα πέμψωμεν πολεμόκλονον, ἣ καὶ Ἄρηα,  
οἳ μιν ἐπισχήσουσι μάχης κρατερόν περ ἑόντα.”  
ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη Κρονίδης· Ἕρῃ δ' ἀπαμείβετο  
μύθῳ·  
“οὔτ' ἄρ' Ἀθηναίης, Κρονίδη, σθένος οὔτε Ἄρηος  
ἰσχύσει βατράχοισιν ἀμυνέμεν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον.  
280 ἀλλ' ἄγε πάντες ἴωμεν ἀρηγόνες· ἦ τὸ σὸν ὄπλον  
κινεῖσθω· οὕτω γὰρ ἀλώσεται ὅς τις ἄριστος,  
ὥς ποτε καὶ Καπανῆα κατέκτανες, ὄβριμον ἄνδρα,

There was among the mice one Filchpiece, outstanding above the rest, the dear son of worthy Scratchaway, targeter of bread, who . . . as he went off home, but urged his son to take part in the fighting. He was threatening he would take the frog race by storm, and he stood nearby, eager to fight stoutly. Breaking a walnut along its central ridge into two halves, he put his paws into both cavities for protection<sup>20</sup> . . . They quickly became afraid and all went into the pool.

Then the son of Kronos pitied the frogs in their plight, and shaking his head he voiced this utterance: "Oh, I see a great exploit before my eyes: Filcher is crossing over among the frogs. Quick, let us send Pallas the battle-rouser, or even Ares, to stop him fighting, doughty though he is."

So said the son of Kronos. But Hera responded: "Neither Athena's strength, O son of Kronos, nor Ares' will suffice to defend the frogs from sheer destruction. No, let us all go to their aid. Or let your weapon<sup>21</sup> be set in motion, for so the greatest warrior will be taken, even as once you killed the formidable Capaneus, and great Enceladus and

<sup>20</sup> It seems that in what followed he used the half-shells as powerful knuckledusters, causing havoc among the frogs and putting them to flight. <sup>21</sup> The thunderbolt.

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261 lac. stat. Ludwich

264-263 hoc ordine Z, 263-264 a; 264-268 om. l

263 ε(ι)στῆκει recc.: ἔστηκεν vett.

post 266 lac. stat. West

273 del. Allen                      268-9 v. post 291

277 Ὕρη Baumeister: ἄρης codd.

καὶ μέγαν Ἐγκέλαδόν τε καὶ ἄγρια φῦλα  
Γιγάντων.”

285 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη· Κρονίδης δὲ λαβὼν ἀργῆτα  
κεραυνόν

{πρῶτα μὲν ἐβρόντησε, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν  
ἽΟλυμπον,}

288 ἦκ' ἐπιδινήσας, ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἔπτατο χειρὸς ἄνακτος.  
πάντας μὲν ῥ' ἐφόβησε βαλὼν βατράχους τε  
μύας τε·

290 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἀπέληγε μυῶν στρατός, ἀλλ' ἔτι  
μᾶλλον

ἵετο πορθήσιν βατράχων γένος αἰχμητάων.

268 καὶ νῦ κεν ἐξετέλεσσαν, ἐπεὶ μέγα οἱ σθένος ἦεν,

269 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὁξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

292 {εἰ μὴ ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου βατράχους ἐλέησε Κρονίων,}

ὅς ῥα φθειρομένοισιν ἀρωγὸν αὐτὸς ἔπεμψεν.

ἦλθον δ' ἐξαίφνης νωτάκμονες, ἀγκυλοχῆλαι,

295 λοξοβάται, στρεβλοί, ψαλιδόστομοι,

ὀστρακόδερμοι,

ὀστοφυεῖς, πλατύνωτοι, ἀποστίλβοντες ἐν ὤμοις,

βλαιοί, χειροτένοντες, ἀπὸ στέρνων ὀρόωντες,

ὀκτάποδες, δικέραιοι, ἀτειρέες, οἳ τε καλεῦνται

καρκῖνοι· οἳ ῥα μυῶν οὐρὰς στομάτεσσιν ἔκοπτον

283 Ἐγκέλαδόν τε Barnes: (ἐγ)κελάδοντα codd.

284 nullus est

the wild tribe of Giants."<sup>22</sup>

So she spoke; and Zeus, taking up the bright bolt, {first thundered, and made great Olympus quake,} discharged it with a whirl, and it flew from the lord's hand. His throw frightened all of them, frogs and mice alike. But not even then did the mouse army give up: it strove yet harder to destroy the race of the warrior frogs. And they would have done it, for great was their strength, if the father of gods and men had not thought quickly and sent aid on his own initiative to the frogs as they perished. And there came of a sudden creatures with backs hard as anvils, bent of claw, walking aslant, squinting, scissor-mouthed, shell-skinned, bony-natured, flat-backed, gleaming-shouldered, bandy-legged, with tendons for hands, peering from their chests, eight-legged, twin-feelered, unwearying: those known as crabs. They snapped at the mice's tails and their hands and

<sup>22</sup> Capaneus was one of the Seven who attacked Thebes. He boasted that not even Zeus' thunderbolt would stop him; but it did. Enceladus was one of the Giants who fought against the gods and were defeated.

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285 βαλὼν ἀργῆτα κεραυνὸν Z (λαβὼν Ludwig): ἔβαλε  
ψολόεντι κεραυνῶ AJ, -εντα κεραυνὸν LF

286 del. Kühn, 287 interpolatio in F<sup>m</sup> S

289 βατράχους τε μύας τε Chalcondyles: ἐπὶ τοὺς δέ τε μύας  
codd.

268–269 huc trai. West deleteo 292

268 οἱ σθένος recc.: ὥς θεὸν fere vet.

294 ἀγκυλοχῆλαι recc.: -χεῖλαι vet.

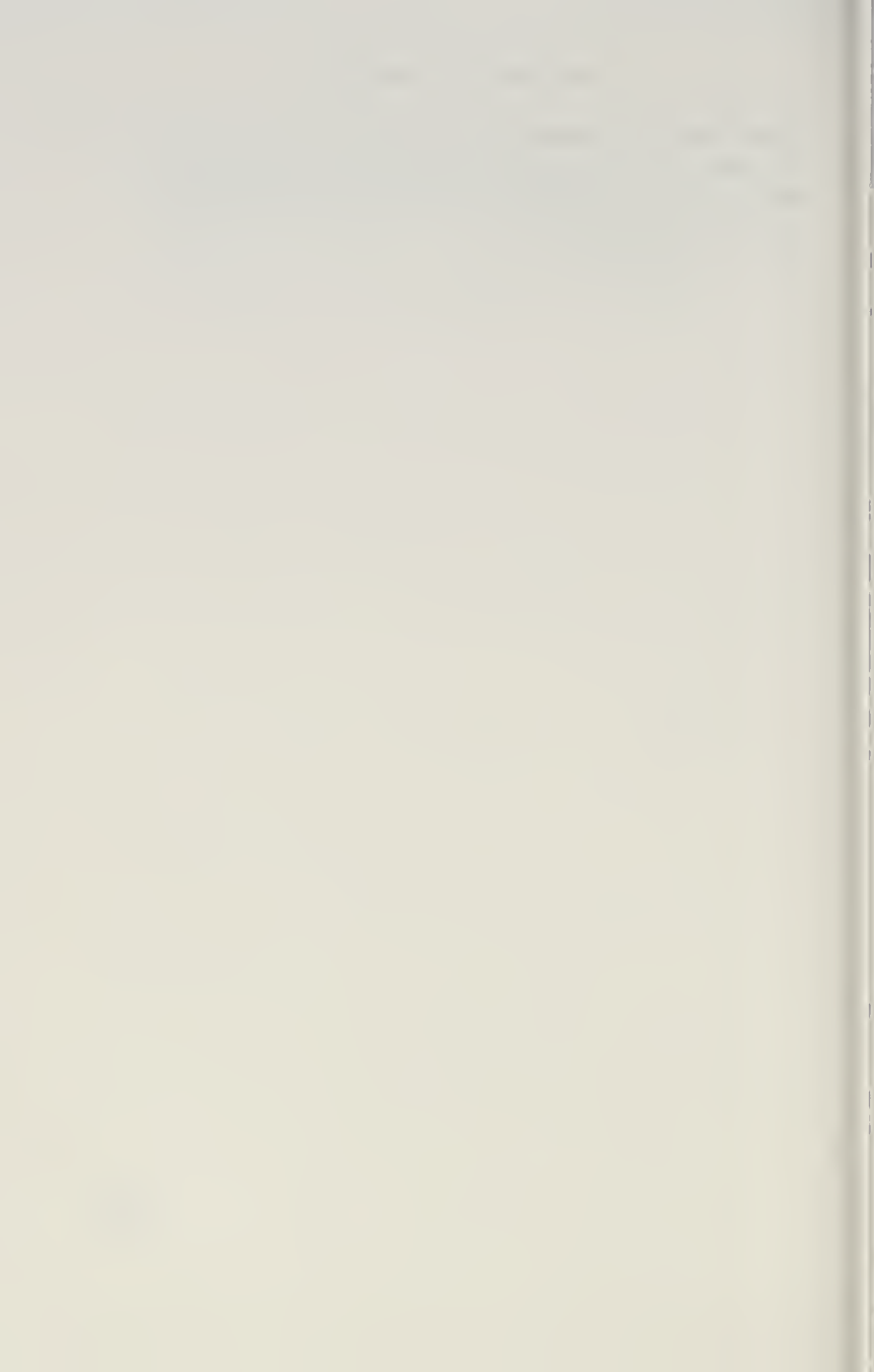
298 δικάριοι Clarke: δικάρηνοι codd. ἀτειρές Nauck:  
ἀχειρές codd. (ἀχειλέες Y) τε West: δὲ codd.



300 ἤδὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας· ἀνεγνάμπτουντο δὲ λόγχαι.  
τοὺς καὶ ὑπέδδεισαν πάντες μύες, οὐδ' ἔτ'  
ἔμειναν,  
ἐς δὲ φυγὴν ἐτράποντο. ἐδύετο δ' ἥλιος ἤδη,  
καὶ πολέμου τελετὴ μονοήμερος ἐξετελέσθη.

## FROGS AND MICE

feet; their spears were bent back. The mice all took fright at them, stood their ground no longer, but turned to flight. By now the sun was setting, and so the one-day war ceremony was concluded.



# LIVES OF HOMER

## INTRODUCTION

The ten texts edited in this section all date from the Roman or the early Byzantine period. They are:

1. The work commonly known as *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod* or *Certamen*.

2. Pseudo-Herodotus, *On Homer's Origins, Date, and Life*.

3, 4. The biographical sections from the two treatises which make up pseudo-Plutarch, *On the Life and Poetry of Homer*.

5. Proclus' *Life of Homer*.

6. That portion of the *Suda* entry on Homer which comes from Hesychius Illustrius' *Index of Famous Authors*.

7-9. Three anonymous Lives from medieval manuscripts of Homer or Homeric scholia: the so-called Vita Romana (= Vita VI Allen) and Vitae Scorialenses (= Vitae IV and V Allen).<sup>1</sup>

10. Some nonbiographical material that appears following the Vita Romana.

<sup>1</sup> Allen's curiously incomplete numbering system is a relic of that adopted by Westermann in his *Βιογράφοι*. The titles Vita Romana, Vita Scorialensis, introduced by Wilamowitz, identify the anonymous Lives by reference to the location of the oldest manuscript in which each is contained.

## INTRODUCTION

The first two items in the list are free-standing literary compositions. Number 6 is an encyclopedia entry. The rest are of an introductory nature, designed to provide a starting point for those about to read Homer or further critical work about Homer. Although conventionally called "Lives" of Homer, they are in fact assemblages of material practically confined to the following topics: his parentage and place of birth, for which various different opinions are cited; his change of name from Melesigenes to Homer; his date, again as variously estimated by different authorities; the story of his death; a list of the works composed by him or wrongly ascribed to him. There is very little else about the events of his life. Only the *Certamen* and pseudo-Herodotus offer anything like a continuous biographical narrative.

Let us now consider each of these texts in turn in somewhat more detail.

### *1. The Contest of Homer and Hesiod*

This work survives in a single fourteenth-century manuscript (Laur. 56.1), where it bears the cumbrous but accurate title *On Homer and Hesiod and their Lineage and Contest*. It begins with a brief discussion of the origins of the two poets, and then launches into an extended account of their fabled contest at the funeral games for Amphidamas at Chalcis, in which Homer acquitted himself supremely well in the public's opinion, but the judge, Panedes, awarded the victory to Hesiod on the ground that the poet who promoted the peaceful works of agriculture was to be preferred to the one who told of battle and slaughter. The remainder of the work relates what hap-

pened to the poets subsequently and how each met his death in fulfilment of an oracle.

In its present form the *Certamen* dates from the reign of Antoninus Pius, as appears from the reference in §3 to his predecessor Hadrian. But much of it, including the account of the actual contest, was taken over from the *Mouseion* of the sophist Alcidamas, written in the first half of the fourth century BC. This was argued by Friedrich Nietzsche in 1870, on the grounds that two of the verses in §7 are quoted by Stobaeus as from that work, and that the *Certamen* itself cites it for the death of Hesiod at a point where an alternative version is given (§14). Nietzsche's hypothesis was confirmed, firstly by a papyrus of the third century BC (P. Lit. Lond. 191), which contains a portion of the contest narrative differing only trivially from that in the *Certamen*, and secondly by another of the second or third century AD (P. Michigan inv. 2754), which has the end of a narrative closely resembling the end of the *Certamen*, followed by an epilogue and the subscription Ἀλκι Ἰδάμαντος περὶ Ὀμήρου, "Alcidamas, *On Homer*." This presumably marked the conclusion of one section of the *Mouseion*, which then went on to speak of other poets.<sup>2</sup>

Alcidamas' narrative included, besides the contest, the oracles warning the two poets of where they would die, and the story of their deaths. It may also have included

<sup>2</sup> The Michigan papyrus was first edited by J. G. Winter, *TAPA* 56 (1925), 120–129. For discussion of its relationship to the *Mouseion* see G. S. Kirk, *CQ* 44 (1950), 149–167; E. R. Dodds, *CQ* 2 (1952), 187–188; Ernst Vogt, *Rh. Mus.* 102 (1959), 208–211; M. L. West, *CQ* 17 (1967), 434–438; G. L. Koniaris, *HSCP* 75 (1971), 107–129.

## INTRODUCTION

Homer's composition of the epitaph for Midas and his dedication at Delphi of the silver cup which he received in fee (*Certamen* 15). The Antonine compiler (for he was no more than a compiler) added material from other sources, in particular from one or more Lives of Homer. §§2–4 are similar in character to the shorter Lives, listing different opinions about Homer's birthplace, parentage, and chronology, and naming a variety of authorities. §§15–18 are more like the pseudo-Herodotean Life, with its account of Homer's travels from town to town, his production of particular epics at different places, and his improvisation of occasional verses in certain particular situations.

The story of the contest with Hesiod was based on Hesiod's own mention of a victory that he won in a poetic competition at the funeral games for Amphidamas in Chalcis (*Works and Days* 650–659). It is ignored in the other Lives (except that Proclus dismisses it), and it may have been Alcidamas' invention. However, some of the verses exchanged in the contest were already current in the fifth century,<sup>3</sup> and literary treatment of a contest between poets or seers was by no means a new idea. Aristophanes had set Aeschylus and Euripides against each other in the *Frogs*, and the *Melampodia* ascribed to Hesiod had related a contest at Claros between the seers Calchas and Mopsus (fr. 278). The Peripatetic writer Phaenias (fr. 33 Wehrli) mentioned a contest between Lesches and Arctinus, the two main poets associated with the Epic Cycle.

It is a curious feature of Alcidamas' contest that it consists almost entirely of tests set by Hesiod to Homer, who

<sup>3</sup> See the notes to the translation.



passes them with ease, demonstrating the ready wit and improvisatory ability that Alcidas valued in oratory.<sup>4</sup> Hesiod himself is not put to the test, and indeed anyone else might have taken his place as questioner. It is only when each poet is asked to recite the finest piece of his poetry that their abilities can be weighed against one another, and it is on this basis that Hesiod, as the poet of peace, is suddenly declared to have won. Alcidas was here making a typically sophistic point about judging art by its benefit to society.

The earlier questions put to Homer fall into three series. The first (§7) are of the type, what is the best thing for men, or what the loveliest, and Homer answers with old verses, in the second case taken from the *Odyssey*. The second series (§§8–10) consists of puzzles: demands difficult to fulfil, and apparently nonsensical lines that have to be made sense of by a suitable continuation. Again Alcidas seems to be using preexisting material. The third series, however (§11), may be of his own composition, as the questions and answers are of a distinctly modern, sophistic character.

## 2. *The Pseudo-Herodotean Life*

This most extensive of the Lives announces itself as a work of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, and it is written in an imitation of Herodotus' dialect and style. There is no possibility of its being a genuine work of Herodotus. Apart from anything else, it dates Homer some 250 years earlier than the

<sup>4</sup> See his extant essay *On those who write written speeches*.

## INTRODUCTION

historian did,<sup>5</sup> and it mentions the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*, which we have seen to be a very late composition. The Life was probably written sometime between about 50 and 150 AD; when Tatian (*Oration to the Greeks* 31, around 160 AD) names Herodotus among those who have written about Homer's poetry, origins, and date, he presumably has this work in view and not the real Herodotus' casual remarks on the subject. Affectation of Ionic dialect was not uncommon in the second century, as in Arrian's *Indica*, some works of Lucian, and Aretaeus. As possible authors of our work the medical writer Hermogenes of Smyrna and the historian Cephalion of Gergithos have been suggested on plausible grounds,<sup>6</sup> but no certainty is possible.

As he pretends to be Herodotus, the author cannot name other writers he has used. He can only (in the Herodotean manner) use such expressions as "the Ithacans say . . . But I say . . . and the Colophonians agree with me" (§7). Another Herodotean feature is his down-to-earth rationalism. Homer—or Melesigenes, as he is originally called—is not descended from Orpheus, or born of the river Meles, as in some versions, but beside it; his mother Cretheis is not a nymph, but an ordinary girl made pregnant by an unidentified man. The poet does not die because he cannot solve the fisherboys' riddle, "as some

<sup>5</sup> See the note at the end of the translation.

<sup>6</sup> Ioannes Schmidt, *De Herodotea quae fertur vita Homeri*, ii (Halle, 1876), 218; T. W. Allen, *Homer, The Origins and the Transmission* (Oxford, 1924), 17–18. Both lived in the first half of the second century.

think," he dies of a malady that came upon him shortly before he encountered the boys.

Whereas the other Lives regularly set out the conflicting claims concerning Homer's birthplace and parentage, this one constructs a harmonizing narrative. Homer is conceived in Cyme, born at Smyrna, becomes blind at Colophon, returns to Cyme to acquire the name Homer (for it is the Cymaeans who call the blind *homēroi*), composes most of his poetry at Chios, and dies on Ios. He visits many other places in the course of his life. He goes on voyages with the shipowner Mentès: this accounts for his knowledge of Ithaca and the western Mediterranean as displayed in the *Odyssey*. In Ionia he calls at Neonteichos, Phocaea, Erythrae, and Samos, all somehow associated with poems said to have been his. He plans a journey to Athens: it was in preparation for this, the author explains, that he inserted certain passages in praise of Athens into the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

The prominence given in the Homeric poems to certain untraditional characters is likewise explained by pseudo-Herodotus (§26) from the poet's life. The Mentès and Mentor of the *Odyssey* commemorate Homer's shipowner companion and a friend of his. The bard Phemios commemorates Homer's teacher and adoptive father of that name. The highly commended leather worker Tychios who made Ajax's great shield (*Iliad* 7.220) commemorates a Tychios who took the poet in at Neonteichos.

The list of poems attributed to Homer in this work is rather a strange one. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are clearly treated as the major ones. Of the Cyclic epics, only the *Little Iliad* is mentioned (§16); the old story that he gave the *Cypria* to the Cypriot Stasinus as his daughter's dowry is

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implicitly denied in §25, where we read that one of his two daughters never married and the other married a Chian.<sup>7</sup> The other epic poems mentioned are *Amphiaraus' Expedition to Thebes* (§9, presumably part of the *Thebaid*) and a *Phocais* (§16, otherwise unknown). Besides them there are the *Hymns* (§9), the collection of "fun pieces" (παίγνια) listed in §24 (where the *Margites* is lacking, but several out-of-the-way titles appear), and some seventeen short occasional poems which Homer improvises in response to various situations that arise in the course of his life.

These occasional poems, the so-called Homeric *Epigrams*, appear distributed through the narrative, much of which is constructed to support them. Most of them are known only from pseudo-Herodotus, though a few are found also in other sources, including a couple in the *Certamen*. Two are quoted with individual titles: *The Kiln* (*Epigram* 14)<sup>8</sup> and the *Eiresione* (*Epigram* 15). The *Eiresione* was a traditional poem recited by Samian children as they went round the houses on a certain day each year, carrying a swallow and asking for gifts of food; it is akin to the Rhodian Swallow Song (*PMG* 848) and the more literary *Koronistai* of Phoenix of Colophon.<sup>9</sup> Of the

<sup>7</sup> Likewise excluded are Homer's friendship with Creophylus of Samos (although the poet spends some time on that island) and his gift to him of the *Capture of Oichalia*.

<sup>8</sup> This had the alternative title *The Potters*, and according to Pollux 10.85 some people ascribed it to Hesiod (= Hes. fr. 302 M.-W.).

<sup>9</sup> Similar customs are well attested in modern Greece and other parts of Europe. See Albert Dieterich, *Sommertag* (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 8, 1905, Beiheft 82-117) = *Kleine*

remaining *Epigrams*, one is the famous epitaph for Midas, sometimes ascribed to Cleobulus of Lindos (Simonides, *PMG* 581; Diogenes Laertius 1.89); others are appeals to men or gods, or brief gnomic utterances.

It is generally agreed that these little poems must all be quite old, from the sixth or fifth century BC. But most of them only make sense in the context of the narrative frame that explains the circumstances in which they were composed. The inference is that some such narrative of Homer's life, incorporating the *Epigrams*, existed from the classical period and served as a basis for pseudo-Herodotus' work. Wilamowitz was tempted by the idea that a biography by Heraclides Ponticus was involved; but he preferred to assume that the story was transmitted from an earlier time by some sort of Ionian popular tradition, as an anonymous "Volksbuch." Jacoby more realistically saw it as a sophistic creation, similar in style to Alcidamas' story of the contest with Hesiod.<sup>10</sup>

There is a parallel situation with the life of Aesop.<sup>11</sup> When he first appears in literature, in the second half of the fifth century, Aesop is already more than an inventor of fables: there is something like a coherent legend about his

*Schriften* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1911), 324–352; Samuel Baud-Bovy, *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* 1 (1946), 23–32; Iona and Peter Opie, *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (Oxford, 1959), 288–289; Otto Schönberger, *Griechische Heischelieder* (Meisenheim, 1980).

<sup>10</sup> Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, 417, 437–439; Jacoby, "Homerisches I," *Hermes* 68 (1933), 10–12 = *Kleine philologische Schriften* i (Berlin, 1961), 11–13.

<sup>11</sup> M. L. West in *La Fable* (*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 30, Vandœuvres and Genève, 1984), 116–126.

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life, and certain fables are associated with particular occasions when he used them for his own ends. The legend is centered on Samos; and Homer's sojourn on Samos occupies an important part of the pseudo-Herodotean Life. The Samian historian Euagon, who apparently wrote both about Aesop and about Homer, may have been somehow involved in the codification of the legends.

### 3, 4. *The Pseudo-Plutarchean Lives*

The two books *On the Life and Poetry of Homer* which come down to us under the name of Plutarch are in fact two independent works. The first, in a mere eight chapters, is intended as a preface to the *Iliad*. By way of a biographical introduction the author sets out, more fully than is usual in the Lives, two alternative accounts of Homer's origins: one from Ephorus, which makes him of Cymaeian stock, and one from Aristotle, which has him conceived on Ios and which goes on to tell the story of his death. In both versions his actual birth takes place at Smyrna beside the Meles. The author then mentions the Colophonian claim, quoting the epigram on a statuary group at Colophon, and caps it with a literary epigram which dismisses the whole controversy about Homer's citizenship and acclaims him as a son of the Muse, of heavenly descent. There follow brief notes on his dating and on the works to be acknowledged as his. In three further chapters omitted in the present edition the author explains the origins of the Trojan War, the scope of the *Iliad*, and the poet's reason for beginning in the ninth year.

The second treatise is much more extended (218 chapters). It is a disquisition on Homer's poetry, its educative



value, its meter, its dialect mixture, its use of archaisms, tropes and figures, its stylistic variety, subject matter, cosmology, theology, ethics, and its archetypal status for philosophy, rhetoric, politics, morality, strategy, medicine, and other arts, all illustrated with numerous quotations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The latest commentator on the work has argued that while it cannot, as it stands, be regarded as a work of Plutarch, it may draw to a considerable extent on Plutarch's lost *Homeric Studies*, and date from no later than the end of the second century.<sup>12</sup> For the present volume only the short biographical section at the beginning has been taken. It cannot really be called a Life; it is no more than a succinct survey of different opinions on Homer's citizenship, parentage, and date. §2 is closely related to §1 of the third Anonymous Life.

### 5. Proclus' Life

Proclus included a Life of Homer in that part of the *Chrestomathy* which dealt with the principal epic poets. It is omitted in Photius' summary of the *Chrestomathy* (*Bibliotheca* cod. 239, p. 319a19 Bekker), but appears in over a dozen manuscripts of the *Iliad*, including Venetus A. Besides the conventional review of conflicting opinions on Homer's parentage and date, the story of his death, and the list of his works and reputed works (§§2–5, 7, 9), Proclus adds some remarks ridiculing the belief that he was blind and the tale that he contested unsuccessfully against

<sup>12</sup> Michael Hillgruber, *Die pseudoplutarchische Schrift De Homero* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994–1999), i. 1–5, 74–76.

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Hesiod (§6), and some inferences concerning his longevity, wide experience of travel, and affluence (§8).

Proclus' aphorism, "those who have stated that he was blind seem to me to be mentally blind themselves," is paralleled earlier in Velleius Paterculus (1.5.3), "anyone who thinks he was born blind is lacking all his senses." Both this and the denial that Homer and Hesiod were cousins may derive from an older historian opposed to Ephorus, such as Timaeus. A number of agreements between Velleius and Timaeus were noted by Rohde.<sup>13</sup>

The paragraph on chronology (§ 7) is taken almost verbatim from pseudo-Plutarch II 3.

### 6. *The Hesychian Life*

The tenth-century encyclopedia known as the *Suda* contains a lengthy article on Homer, reproduced in full by Allen in his Oxford Text. Only the first part (as far as line 55 Allen) is of independent value; the rest consists of excerpts from Athenaeus (8e–9c) and the Herodotean Life. The first part comes from the usual source of the biographical articles in the *Suda*: an epitome of the *Index of Famous Authors* by Hesychius of Miletus (Hesychius Illustris), a sixth-century writer not to be confused with the somewhat earlier lexicographer Hesychius.

The plan and scope of this Life are thoroughly conventional, but it contains some unique information. It distinguishes itself from the rest by the lateness of some of the authors cited (Castricius, Charax, Porphyry) and by its in-

<sup>13</sup> *Kleine Schriften* i (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1901), 86 n.1.



comparably long list of local origins proposed for Homer, twenty in number.

7-10. *The Anonymous Lives. Appendix Romana*

Anon. I (the *Vita Romana*) forms part of the introductory material in cod. gr. 6 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, which is the oldest manuscript of the so-called D scholia, dating from the ninth century. It is followed by an explanation of Aristarchus' critical signs and by some other scholarly notes of great interest, which I have printed at the end of the *Lives* under the heading "Appendix Romana." The Life follows the usual plan, but it cites a number of Hellenistic and earlier sources not reported elsewhere, and includes a rare version of how Homer became blind.

Anon. II and III are transmitted in some twenty manuscripts of the *Iliad*, the earliest being the eleventh-century Escorial codex  $\Omega.1.12$  (509), which has given them the appellation of *Vitae Scorialenses*. The first is very cursory and contains practically nothing individual; after the first paragraph it reads like an abridgment of the second. The second is of greater interest. Its initial section, as noted above, closely parallels the second pseudo-Plutarch. It adduces evidence against the view (Crates') that Homer lived only a few decades after the Trojan War. It denies, on literary-critical grounds, his authorship of any other poems than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, even the *Hymns*. It purveys the doctrine that the epics were not collected and put in order until Pisistratus, and quotes in support an epigram displayed on an Athenian statue of the tyrant. It also has a mention of Homer's travels, and specifically of his stay in Ithaca, presumably after the Herodotean Life.

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### *The Earlier Biographical Tradition*

Tatian's list of writers who inquired into "Homer's poetry and his origins and date" begins with Theagenes of Rhegium, said to have flourished in the time of Cambyses.<sup>14</sup> So far as we know from other sources, Theagenes' interest was in allegorical interpretation of Homer, and it may not have extended to biographical matters. However, the topics regularly treated in the *Lives*—Homer's parentage and place of birth, his change of name from Melesigenes, his date, the manner of his death, and the authenticity of the works ascribed to him—were certainly all matters of discussion as early as the fifth century BC, if not the late sixth. Heraclitus already knew the story of the poet's defeat by the boys' riddle. Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides acknowledged the claims of various cities (Smyrna, Chios, Ios) to have been Homer's home. Pindar also knew the story of his giving the *Cypria* as his daughter's dowry to Stasinus, which presupposes a dispute over which poet was the author of that epic. Herodotus gives his opinions on the authenticity of the *Cypria* and *Epigoni*, and also on the date of Homer and Hesiod, clearly taking a stand against an alternative view.<sup>15</sup> A string of other fifth-century writers are cited in the *Lives* in connection with Homer's origins: Pherecydes of Athens, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeum, Euagon of Samos, Gorgias of Leontini, Hippias of Elis, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Antimachus of Colophon.

<sup>14</sup> Tatian, *Oration to the Greeks* 31.

<sup>15</sup> Heraclitus DK 22 B 56; Simonides eleg. 19.1; Pindar, frs. 264 (cf. 204), 265; Bacchylides, fr. 48; Herodotus 2.53, 117; 4.32.

The initial impression may be that it is a case of *quot homines, tot sententiae*. Yet certain claims seem to have become so firmly established at an early date that variant views had to compromise with them. Thus, whether Homer is represented as a Cymaeon, a Smyrnaean, or an Ietan by birth, it is agreed that he lived and worked on Chios (where he is never said to have been born).<sup>16</sup> Again, while Ephorus had Homer conceived at Cyme, and the Ietans reported by Aristotle had him conceived on Ios, in both accounts the pregnant mother came to Smyrna and gave birth to the poet beside the river Meles. The Smyrnaean claim was evidently prior and could not be gainsaid. In the Pisistratus epigram quoted in the second and third Anonymous Lives, Homer is claimed as an Athenian, but on the ground that Smyrna was an Athenian foundation.

This claim of Smyrna's depended on Homer's birth beside the river or (according to Euagon and others) actually from the river. But the connection of Homer with the Meles was only made in order to account for the name Melesigenes which he was held originally to have borne. In fact, as has long been recognized, Melesigenes is a normal type of man's name meaning "caring about his clan," and it had nothing to do with the Meles. This undermines the claim that the poet was born at Smyrna, leaving only the premise, which was evidently uncontested, that "Homer" was a secondary name given to a poet called Melesigenes.

<sup>16</sup> Note that already in the *Hymn to Apollo* (172) the blind poet who is to be understood as Homer is not said to be a native Chian (*Xῖος δὲ γένος*, it might have been) but to *live* on Chios. Compare Erwin Rohde, *Kleine Schriften* i. 9 n.2.

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The other points on which the tradition was agreed are that he was active on Chios and died on Ios.

We should not succumb to the temptation to look here for historical information about the poet of the *Iliad*. The figure of Homer was a creation of the sixth-century Homeridai, a professional organization of bards who attributed their traditional poetry to their fictitious eponym and imagined that there had earlier been a clan of his descendants.<sup>17</sup> These Homeridai were the primary source of stories about Homer's life.<sup>18</sup> As they themselves were based on Chios, it was inferred that that was where Homer had lived. Certain poems current under the names of other poets were appropriated for Homer by means of such stories as that he gave the *Cypria* to Stasinus and the *Capture of Oichalia* to Creophylus, or that the *Little Iliad* and *Phocais* were stolen from him by Thestorides. The story that his original name was Melesigenes is best understood in the same way, as a device for making Homer the author of poetry that had been known as Melesigenes', whoever Melesigenes may have been.<sup>19</sup>

It is hard to say on what ground Ios made its claim, which none disputed, to be the place where Homer died. Perhaps there were some Homeridai there who practised a hero cult of their supposed ancestor and set up a memorial to which they could bring him offerings, and this became his tomb. The tale of the fisherboys' riddle remained canonical, but its connection with the poet's death was sub-

<sup>17</sup> Acusilaus fr. 2, Hellanicus fr. 20 Fowler; Strabo 14.1.35; *Certamen* 2; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.1c, e.

<sup>18</sup> Plato, *Republic* 599e; Isocrates 10.65.

<sup>19</sup> Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, 370 f.

ject to various rationalizations. In the original version it was a sufficient cause of death for a singer or seer to be worsted in a riddle challenge, as in the Hesiodic story of Calchas and Mopsus, or in the myth of the Sphinx at Thebes. But later narrators were not content with this. They explain that Homer died of depression at his failure (ps.-Plut. I, Anon. III), or that in his chagrin he starved himself to death (Anon. II), or that he suffered a fatal fall through slipping on some mud (Alcidamas/*Certamen*) or tripping over a stone (Proclus), or that he succumbed to a preexisting illness (ps.-Herodotus).

Secondary claims about his origins proliferated in the fifth and earlier fourth centuries. Hellanicus made Homer a cousin of Hesiod, and both of them descendants of Orpheus, in a factitious genealogy going back to Atlas. As Hesiod's father was known to come from Cyme (*Works and Days* 636), Hellanicus probably represented Homer too as of Cymaeian stock. Hippias did so, at any rate, and this was taken up gladly by the Cymaeian Ephorus, who adopted Hellanicus' stemma with modifications. Damastes and Gorgias preferred to make Homer descend from Musaeus. The Colophonian poet Antimachus made him a Colophonian, probably appealing to the Colophonian associations of the *Margites*.<sup>20</sup>

In the Hellenistic period things went further. One Callicles made Homer originate from Salamis in Cyprus, like his supposed son-in-law Stasinus.<sup>21</sup> Philochorus made

<sup>20</sup> See *Certamen* 2, and the introduction to the *Margites* in this volume.

<sup>21</sup> *FGrHist* 754 F 13; Jacoby, *RE* x.1635. An epigram probably by Alcaeus of Messene (22 Gow-Page) protests at the suggestion.

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him an Argive, no doubt because of the prominence of "Argeioi" in the epics.<sup>22</sup> The notion that he was an Athenian appears with Aristarchus and his pupil Dionysius Thrax, but they were probably not the first.<sup>23</sup> More fanciful writers made him an Ithacan, the son of Telemachus and of Nestor's daughter Polycaste, or an Egyptian, or a Roman.<sup>24</sup> Epigrammatists wrote that "seven cities" claimed to be Homer's home, without altogether agreeing on which seven.<sup>25</sup> Hesychius Illustis, as noted above, was able to enumerate twenty.

Opinions on when Homer lived also varied widely.<sup>26</sup> The oldest belief, as promulgated by the Homeridai and probably by Hellanicus, may have been that he lived at the time of the Trojan War and was thus able to tell of it from personal knowledge. This was perhaps the view against which Herodotus (2.53) was reacting when he stated his opinion that Hesiod and Homer lived "four hundred years before me, and not more." Most historians and chron-

<sup>22</sup> Herodotus 5.67.1; *Certamen* 17; pseudo-Herodotus 28; Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 209 with Jacoby's commentary.

<sup>23</sup> See Jacoby on *FGrHist* 328 F 209 (n.11).

<sup>24</sup> Polycaste gives Telemachus a bath at *Odyssey* 3.464, and is already married to him in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 221). A version of the Egyptian story is ascribed to one Alexander of Paphos, who may be the same as Alexander of Myndus (Eustathius, *Odyssey* 1713.17, printed by Allen, 253; G. E. V. Gigante, *Vite di Omero*, 66–67, 148). Rome: Aristodemus of Nysa, cited in Anon. I.

<sup>25</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 16.297, 298.

<sup>26</sup> See Felix Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin, 1902), 98–107; *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin, 1904), 152–157; his commentary on Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 210–211.

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ographers put Homer somewhere between these dates. The major epochs of Greek mythical history, after the Trojan War, were the Return of the Heraclids, which Eratosthenes and Apollodorus put at eighty years after the war, and the Ionian migration, which they put at sixty years after that. Homer was sometimes dated in relation to these events, on the ground that he showed no knowledge of one or both of them. Those who accepted that he was born at Smyrna could not put him earlier than the date when they believed that city to have been founded. Pseudo-Herodotus connects him directly with that event. Others dated him on the basis of his legendary meeting with the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus, who could be fixed in relation to the Spartan king list; this encounter, however, plays no part in the *Lives*.

The chronological sections in the *Lives* depend on Peripatetic or later authorities. The earliest cited by name are: for relative dates, Aristotle (ps.-Plutarch I 3: synchronism with the Ionian migration) and Heraclides Ponticus (Anon. I 4: Homer older than Hesiod); and for absolute dates, Eratosthenes, Crates, Aristarchus, Apollodorus, and (in Hesychius) Porphyry.



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# ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ

- 1 Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον τοὺς θειοτάτους ποιητὰς πάν-  
τες ἄνθρωποι πολίτας ἰδίους εὖχονται λέγεσθαι. ἀλλ'  
Ἡσίοδος μὲν τὴν ἰδίαν ὀνομάσας πατρίδα πάντας τῆς  
φιλονικίας ἀπήλλαξεν εἰπὼν (Op.639) ὥς ὁ πατὴρ  
αὐτοῦ

εἶσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἑλικῶνος οὔζυρῃ ἐνὶ κώμῃ,  
Ἄσκρι, χεῖμα κακῇ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ, οὐδέ ποτ'  
ἔσθλῃ.

- 2 Ὅμηρον δὲ πᾶσαι ὥς εἰπεῖν αἱ πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἔποικοι  
αὐτῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσιν. καὶ πρῶτοί  
γε Σμυρναῖοι Μέλητος ὄντα τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμοῦ  
καὶ Κρηθῆδος νύμφης κεκλησθῆναι φασὶ πρότερον  
Μελησιγένῃ, ὕστερον μέντοι τυφλωθέντα Ὅμηρον  
μετονομασθῆναι διὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων  
συνήθη προσηγορίαν. Χῖοι δὲ πάλιν τεκμήρια φέρου-  
σιν ἴδιον εἶναι πολίτην, λέγοντες καὶ περισώζεσθαι  
τινας ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὀμηρίδας  
καλουμένους. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ καὶ τόπον δεικνύουσιν,

## 1. THE CONTEST OF HOMER AND HESIOD

Homer and Hesiod are the most inspired of poets, and all mankind would like to have them reckoned as their own fellow-citizens. Hesiod at least, by naming his own homeland, precluded any rivalry: he said that his father

settled near Helicon in a miserable village,

Ascra, bad in winter, foul in summer, good at no time.

With Homer, on the other hand, practically all cities and their inhabitants claim that he was born among them. First of all, the Smyrnaeans say that he was the son of their local river Meles and of a nymph Cretheis, and that he was formerly called Melesigenes,<sup>1</sup> but later, after becoming blind, was renamed Homer, from the ordinary term applied to that condition among them.<sup>2</sup> The Chians, again, produce evidence that he was a citizen of theirs, saying that some of his descendants actually survive among them, known as Homeridai. And the Colophonians even point to a spot

<sup>1</sup> Understood as "Meles-born."

<sup>2</sup> According to Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 1), *homēros* was an Aeolic word meaning "blind."

ἐν ᾧ φασιν αὐτὸν γράμματα διδάσκοντα τῆς ποιήσεως ἄρξασθαι καὶ ποιῆσαι πρῶτον τὸν Μαργίτην.

- 3 περὶ δὲ τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ πάλιν πολλὴ διαφωνία παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐστίν. Ἑλλάνικος μὲν γὰρ (fr. 5 Fowler) καὶ Κλεάνθης (Neanthes 84 F 40) Μαίονα λέγουσιν, Εὐγαίων δὲ (Euagon fr. 2 Fowler) Μέλητα, Καλλικλῆς δὲ (758 F 13) <Δ>μασαγόραν,<sup>1</sup> Δημόκριτος<sup>2</sup> δὲ ὁ Τροιζήνιος (Demetrius *Supp. Hell.* 378) Δαήμονα<sup>3</sup> ἔμπορον, ἔνιοι δὲ Θαμύραν, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ Μενέμαχον ἱερογραμματέα, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Τηλέμαχον τὸν Ὀδυσσέως· μητέρα δὲ οἱ μὲν Μῆτιν, οἱ δὲ Κρηθηΐδα, οἱ δὲ Θεμίστην,<sup>4</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἴτρνηθώ,<sup>5</sup> ἔνιοι δὲ Ἰθακησίαν τινὰ ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἀπεμποληθεῖσαν, οἱ δὲ Καλλιόπην τὴν Μοῦσαν, τινὲς δὲ Πολυκάστην τὴν Νέστορος.

ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Μέλης, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασι Μελησιγένης, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ἄλτης.<sup>6</sup> ὀνομασθῆναι <δὲ> αὐτὸν φασί τινες Ὅμηρον διὰ τὸ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ὅμηρον δοθῆναι ὑπὸ Κυπρίων Πέρσαις· οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν πῆρωσιν τῶν ὁμμάτων· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσιν οὕτως οἱ πηροὶ καλοῦνται.

ὅπερ δὲ ἀκηκόαμεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας περὶ Ὁμήρου, ἐκθησόμεθα. τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως πνυθόμενου πόθεν

<sup>1</sup> μασαγόραν cod.: Δμασαγ- Barnes ex Eust. *Od.* 1713.18: Δημαγ- Alcaeus epigr. 22 Gow-Page.

<sup>2</sup> Δημοκρίνης vit. Rom.      <sup>3</sup> Ἀλήμονα vit. Rom.

<sup>4</sup> Θεμιστώ Barnes e Paus. 10.24.3.

<sup>5</sup> Ἴτρνηθώ Westermann: εὐγνηθώ cod.

## 1. THE CONTEST

where they say Homer, as a teacher of reading and writing, started his poetic career and composed the *Margites* as his first work.

As to his parents there is again much disagreement in all the sources. For Hellanicus and Cleanthes<sup>3</sup> say (his father) was Maion, Eugaion says Meles, Callicles Dmasagoras, Democritus of Troezen<sup>4</sup> a merchant Daëmon, some say Thamyras, the Egyptians say a temple scribe Menemachus, and there are those who say it was Telemachus the son of Odysseus. As for his mother, some say Metis, some Cretheis, some Themiste, some Hyrnetho, some an Ithacan woman sold abroad by Phoenicians, some the Muse Calliope, and some Nestor's daughter Polycaste.

He was called Meles, or as some say, Melesigenes, or as others say, Altes. And some say he was named Homer because his father was given by the Cyprians to the Persians as a hostage (*homēros*); others say it was because of his ocular handicap, as among the Aeolians the handicapped are so called.

But we will set forth what we have heard stated about Homer by the Pythia in the time of the most godly emperor Hadrian. When he enquired where Homer came

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps an error for Neanthes (of Cyzicus). In what follows, the compiler has made a list of couples into separate lists of fathers and mothers.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps an error for Demetrius of Troezen, a poet of the Augustan period.

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<sup>6</sup> Ἄλτης Welcker (Athenocles ap. sch. *Il.* 22.51): ἀύλητῆν cod.

Ὅμηρος καὶ τίνος, ἀπεφοίβασε δι' ἑξαμέτρου τόνδε  
τὸν τρόπον·

ἄγνωστόν μ' ἔρειαι γενεὴν καὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν  
ἀμβροσίου Σειρήνος. ἔδος δ' Ἰθακήσιός ἐστιν,  
Τηλέμαχος δὲ πατὴρ καὶ Νεστορὲή Πολυκάστη<sup>7</sup>  
μήτηρ, ἣ μιν ἔτικτε βροτῶν πέρι<sup>8</sup> πάνσοφον  
ἄνδρα.

οἷς μάλιστα δεῖ πιστεύειν διὰ τε τὸν πνθόμενον καὶ  
τὸν ἀποκρινάμενον, ἄλλως τε οὕτως τοῦ ποιητοῦ μεγα-  
λοφυνῶς τὸν προπάτορα διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν δεδοξακότος.

4 ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν προγενέστερον Ἑσιόδου φασὶν  
εἶναι, τινὲς δὲ νεώτερον καὶ συγγενῇ. γενεαλογοῦσι δὲ  
οὕτως· Ἀπόλλωνός φασι καὶ Θωώσης τῆς Ποσειδῶνος  
γενέσθαι Λίνον, Λίνου δὲ Πίερον, Πιέρου δὲ καὶ νύμ-  
φης Μεθώνης Οἰάγρον, Οἰάγρου δὲ καὶ Καλλιόπης  
Ὀρφέα, Ὀρφέως δὲ Ὀρτην, <τοῦ δὲ Εὐκλέα,><sup>9</sup> τοῦ δὲ  
Ἄρμονίδην,<sup>10</sup> τοῦ δὲ Φιλοτέρπην, τοῦ δὲ Εὐφῆμον, τοῦ  
δὲ Ἐπιφράδην, τοῦ δὲ Μελάνωπον, τούτου δὲ Δίου καὶ  
Ἀπέλλαιον· Δίου δὲ καὶ Πυκิมήδης τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος  
θυγατρὸς Ἑσιόδου καὶ Πέρσην, Ἀπελλαίου<sup>11</sup> δὲ Μαί-  
ονα, Μαίονος δὲ θυγατρὸς καὶ Μέλητος τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
Ὅμηρον.

5 τινὲς δὲ συνακμάσαι φασὶν αὐτούς, ὥστε καὶ ἀγω-  
νίσασθαι ὁμόσε <γενομένους><sup>12</sup> ἐν Αὐλίδι τῆς Βοι-

<sup>7</sup> Πολυκάστη (ut supra) Nietzsche: ἐπικάστη cod.

<sup>8</sup> πέρι West: πολυ cod.      <sup>9</sup> < > add. Goettling ex Suda.

## 1. THE CONTEST

from and whose son he was, she made her inspired utterance in hexameters as follows:

You ask me the unknown lineage and fatherland  
of an immortal Siren. As to his home, he is an

Ithacan;

Telemachus was his father, and Nestor's daughter  
Polycaste

his mother who bore him, a man outstanding for his  
all-round expertise.

We should treat these statements as the most trustworthy, given the identity of the enquirer and the responder, not to mention the fact that the poet has so magnificently glorified his paternal grandfather in his poetry.

Now some say that he was older than Hesiod, others that he was younger, and related to him. This is the genealogy they give: from Apollo and Thoösa, daughter of Poseidon, they say Linus was born, from Linus Pierus, from Pierus and the nymph Methone Oeagrus, from Oeagrus and Calliope Orpheus, from Orpheus Ortes, <from him Eucles,> from him Harmonides, from him Philoterpes, from him Euphemus, from him Epiphrades, from him Melanopus, and from him Dios and Apellaios; from Dios and Apollo's daughter Pykimede, Hesiod and Perses; from Apellaios Maion, and from a daughter of Maion and the river Meles, Homer.

Some, however, say that they flourished at the same time, so as actually to compete with each other after

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<sup>10</sup> ἁρμονίδην cod: Ἰδμον- Proclus, *Suda*.

<sup>11</sup> Ἀπελλαίου Sittl: πέρσον cod.

<sup>12</sup> < > add. Busse.



ωτίας. ποιήσαντα γὰρ τὸν Μαργίτην Ὅμηρον περι-  
έρχεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν ράψωιδοῦντα, ἐλθόντα δὲ καὶ εἰς  
Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι τίς  
εἴη, τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν·

ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος μητρὸς πατρίς, ἥ σε θανόντα  
δέξεται· ἀλλὰ νέων παίδων αἰνιγμα φύλαξαι.

- τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα περιστάσθαι μὲν τὴν εἰς Ἴον  
6 ἄφιξιν, διατρίβειν δὲ περὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ χώραν. | κατὰ δὲ  
τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Γανύκτωρ ἐπιτάφιον τοῦ πατρὸς  
Ἀμφιδάμαντος βασιλέως Εὐβοίας ἐπιτελῶν πάντας  
τοὺς ἐπισήμους ἄνδρας οὐ μόνον ῥώμῃ καὶ τάχει  
ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφαίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς  
τιμῶν συνεκάλεσεν. καὶ οὗτοι οὖν ἐκ τύχης, ὥς φασι,  
συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Χαλκίδα. τοῦ δὲ  
ἀγῶνος ἄλλοι τέ τινες τῶν ἐπισήμων Χαλκιδέων ἐκα-  
θέζοντο κριταὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Πανήδης, ἀδελφὸς ὦν  
τοῦ τετελευτηκότος. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν θαν-  
μαστῶς ἀγωνισαμένων νικῆσαί φασι τὸν Ἡσίοδον  
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· προελθόντα γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον  
πυνθάνεσθαι τοῦ Ὁμήρου καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον, τὸν δὲ  
7 Ὅμηρον ἀποκρίνασθαι. | φῆσιν οὖν Ἡσίοδος·

υἱὲ Μέλητος Ὅμηρε, θεῶν ἅπο μῆδεα εἰδώς,  
εἵπ' ἄγε μοι πάμπρωτα, τί φέρτατόν ἐστι  
βροτοῖσιν;

Ὅμηρος·

## 1. THE CONTEST

meeting up at Aulis in Boeotia. For after composing the *Margites*, they say, Homer went round from town to town reciting, and on coming to Delphi he enquired what his native land was; and the Pythia said:

There is an island Ios, your mother's home, which on  
your death  
will receive you. Only beware the young boys' riddle.

After hearing this, they say, he avoided going on to Ios, and remained in those parts. Around the same time Ganyctor was organizing the funeral of his father Amphidamas, a king in Euboea, and he invited to the contest all the men who were noted not only for strength and speed at running, but also for intellectual accomplishments, honoring them with sizeable gifts. So these two also, having met up by chance, as they say, went to Chalcis. At the contest, among other Chalcidian notables who were sitting as judges, there was Panedes, a brother of the deceased. And after both poets had put up wonderful performances, they say that Hesiod was the winner, in the following manner. He came forward onto the floor and set Homer a series of questions, to which Homer responded. So Hesiod said:

Son of Meles, Homer, with your wisdom from the  
gods,  
come, tell me first of all, what is the best thing for  
mortals?

Homer:

ἀρχὴν μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,  
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Αἴδαο περῆσαι.

Ἡσίοδος τὸ δεύτερον·

εἶπ' ἄγε μοι καὶ τοῦτο, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ὅμηρε,  
τί θνητοῖς κάλλιστον οὔτεαι ἐν φρεσὶν εἶναι;

ὁ δέ (Od. 9.6–11)·

ὅππότε' ἂν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον  
ἅπαντα,  
δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ  
ἤμενοι ἐξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι  
σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων  
οἰνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγχείῃ δεπάεσσιν·  
τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἶδεται εἶναι.

- 8 ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν, οὕτως σφοδρῶς φασὶ  
θαυμασθῆναι τοὺς στίχους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὥστε  
χρυσοὺς αὐτοὺς προσαγορευθῆναι, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν  
ταῖς κοιναῖς θυσίαις πρὸ τῶν δείπνων καὶ σποινδῶν  
προκατεύχεσθαι πάντας.

ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος, ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ Ὀμήρου εὐ-  
ημερία, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπόρων ὥρμησεν ἐπερώτησιν,  
καὶ φησι τούσδε τοὺς στίχους·

## 1. THE CONTEST

Not to be born in the first place is best for men on earth,  
or if born, to pass through Hades' gates as fast as possible.<sup>5</sup>

Hesiod again:

Come, tell me this too, godlike Homer:  
what do you consider to be the finest thing for mortals?

He replied:

When good cheer prevails throughout the people,  
and banqueters in the hall are listening to a bard,  
sitting in line, and beside them the tables are laden  
with bread and meat; and drawing wine from the  
bowl  
the wine waiter brings it round and pours it in the  
cups—  
this sort of thing is what seems to me the finest.

When these verses were spoken, they say the lines were so intensely admired by the Greeks that they were dubbed "golden," and even today everyone invokes them at public sacrifices before the feasting and libations.

But Hesiod, vexed at Homer's success, turned to asking conundrums, and spoke these lines:

<sup>5</sup> Stobaeus 4.52.22 quotes these lines as from Alcidas' *Mouseion*. They are found, with added pentameters, as lines 425–428 of the *Theognidea*. For the sentiment see also Bacchylides 5.160; Euripides, fr. 285.1–2; Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1224–1227; Alexis, fr. 145.14–16 K.–A.

Μοῦσ' ἄγε μοι, τά τ' ἔόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό  
 τ' ἔόντα,  
 τῶν μὲν μηδὲν αἶειδε, σὺ δ' ἄλλης μνήσαι αἰοιδῆς.  
 ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος βουλόμενος ἀκολούθως τὸ ἄπορον λῦ-  
 σαί φησιν·

οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβωι καναχήποδες ἵπποι  
 ἄρματα συντρίβουσιν ἐρίζοντες περὶ νίκης.

- 9 καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀπαντήσαντος, ἐπὶ τὰς  
 ἀμφιβόλους γνώμας ὥρμησεν ὁ Ἡσιόδος, καὶ πλείο-  
 νας στίχους λέγων ἡξίου καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον συμφώνως  
 ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Ὅμηρον. ἔστιν οὖν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος  
 Ἡσιόδου, ὁ δὲ ἐξῆς Ὀμήρου, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ δύο  
 στίχων τὴν ἐπερώτησιν ποιουμένου τοῦ Ἡσιόδου·

δεῖπνον ἔπειθ' εἵλοντο βοῶν κρέα καὶ χένας  
 ἵππων  
 —ἐκλυνον ἰδρώοντας, ἐπεὶ πολέμοιο κορέσθην.  
 καὶ Φρύγες, οἳ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ νηυσὶν  
 ἄριστοι  
 —ἀνδράσι ληϊστήρσιν ἐπ' ἀκτῆς δόρπα πένεσθαι.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> δόρπα πένεσθαι Wilamowitz: δόρπον ἐλέσθαι cod.

## 1. THE CONTEST

Come now, Muse, of things that are and will be and  
were aforetime—  
sing nothing of those, but take heed for other singing.

Homer, looking for a logical solution to the problem, said:

Never shall clattering steeds about the tomb of Zeus  
smash chariots as they contend for victory.<sup>6</sup>

As he had countered well in this challenge too, Hesiod turned to ambivalent propositions: he spoke a number of lines, and required Homer to supply a harmonious continuation for each one in turn. So the first line in each case is Hesiod's, and the following one Homer's, except that sometimes Hesiod uses two lines for his question:<sup>7</sup>

Then they dined on beef and the horses' necks—  
They cleansed of sweat, having had their fill of  
fighting.<sup>8</sup>

And the Phrygians, who of all men on shipboard are  
the finest—<sup>9</sup>

At preparing supper on shore for a pirate crew.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Symposium of the Seven Sages* 154a, gives a version of this exchange in which the problem is set by the cyclic poet Lesches and it is Hesiod who solves it, thus winning the contest.

<sup>7</sup> The author has not fully understood the riddles he is using. Some of them are double riddles, in which the responder, in solving the problem, at the same time sets a new one for the first speaker.

<sup>8</sup> These two lines appear in a slightly different form in Aristophanes, *Peace* 1282–1283.

<sup>9</sup> This is a paradox because to the Greeks the Phrygians were a byword for cowardice.

χερσὶ βαλὼν ἰοὺς ἀνόμων κατὰ φῦλα Γιγάντων  
—Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέλυσεν ἀπ' ὤμων καμπύλα τόξα.<sup>14</sup>

οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀνδρός τ' ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀνάλκιδός  
ἐστιν

—μητρός, ἐπεὶ πόλεμος χαλεπὸς πάσησι γυναιξίν.

οὗτ' ἄρ σοί γε πατήρ ἐμίγη καὶ πότνια μήτηρ  
—†σῶμα, τό γ' ἐσπείραντο† διὰ χρυσῆν  
Ἀφροδίτην.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δμῆθη γάμωι Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα  
—Καλλιστὼ κατέπεφνεν ἀπ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖκο>.

ὥς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο πανήμεροι, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες  
—οἴκοθεν, ἀλλὰ παρεῖχεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν  
Ἀγαμέμνων.

δεῖπνον δειπνήσαντες ἐνὶ σποδῶι αἰθαλοέσσηι  
—σύλλεγον ὅστέα λευκὰ Διὸς κατατεθνεῖωτος  
—παιδὸς ὑπερθύμου Σαρπηδόνος ἀντιθέοιο.

ἡμεῖς δ' ἄμ πεδίον Σιμοούντιον †ἤμενοι οὕτως†  
—ἵομεν ἐκ νηῶν ὁδὸν ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχοντες  
—φάσγανα κωπήεντα καὶ αἰγανέας δολιχαύλους.

δὴ τότε ἄριστῆ<ες> κοῦροι χεῖρεσσι θαλάσσης

<sup>14</sup> Hos duos versus hoc ordine Nietzsche: inverso cod. ἰοὺς Nietzsche, ἀνόμων Wilamowitz: ἰοῖσιν ὅλλων cod.

## 1. THE CONTEST

After shooting arrows at the lawless Giants with his hands—

Heracles undid from his shoulders his bent bow.

This man's father is brave, and a coward—

His mother, as fighting is a hard challenge for all women.

Nor with you did your father and lady mother make love—

†the body which†<sup>10</sup> they sowed through golden Aphrodite.

And as she had surrendered to sex, Artemis profuse of arrows—<sup>11</sup>

Slew Callisto with a shot from her silver bow.

So they feasted throughout the day with no food—

Of their own; it was provided by Agamemnon, lord of men.

After making their feast among the sooty ashes—

They collected the white bones of the dead one, Zeus'—

Proud son, the godlike Sarpedon.

We over the plain of Simois †sitting thus†—

Stepped out from the ships our path slung round our shoulders—

Our hilted swords and long-socketed javelins.

Then forsooth the heroic youths with hands from the sea—

<sup>10</sup> Unintelligible.

<sup>11</sup> Artemis was an eternal virgin.



—ἄσμενοι ἐσσυμένως τε ἀπείρυσαν ὠκύαλον ναῦν.

Κολχίδ' ἔπειτ' ἤγοντο<sup>15</sup> καὶ Αἰήτην βασιλῆα  
—φεύγον, ἐπεὶ γίνωσκον ἀνέστιον ἦδ' ἀθέμιστον.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σπείσαν τε καὶ ἔκπιον οἶδμα  
θαλάσσης

—ποντοπορεῖν ἤμελλον ἐϋσσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν.

τοῖσιν δ' Ἀτρείδης μεγάλ' εὔχετο πᾶσιν ὀλέσθαι  
—μηδέ ποτ' ἐν πόντῳ, καὶ φωνήσας ἔπος ηὔδα·  
ἐσθίετ' ὦ ξεῖνοι, καὶ πίνετε· μηδέ τις ὕμων  
οἴκαδε νοστήσειε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν  
—πημανθείς, ἀλλ' αὖθις ἀπήμονες οἴκαδ' ἵκοισθε.

10 πρὸς πάντα δὲ τοῦ Ὀμήρου καλῶς ἀπαντήσαντος  
πάλιν φησὶν ὁ Ἡσίοδος·

τοὔτό τι δὴ μοι μῦνον ἐειρομένῳ κατάλεξον·  
πόσσοι ἅμ' Ἀτρείδῃσιν ἐς Ἴλιον ἦλθον Ἀχαιοί;

ὃ δὲ διὰ λογιστικοῦ προβλήματος ἀποκρίνεται οὕτως·

πεντήκοντ' ἦσαν πυρὸς ἐσχάραι, ἐν δὲ ἐκάστη  
πεντήκοντ' ὀβελοί, περὶ δὲ κρέα πεντήκοντα·  
τρὶς δὲ τριηκόσιοι περὶ ἐν κρέας ἦσαν Ἀχαιοί.

{τοῦτο δὲ εὐρίσκεται πλήθος ἄπιστον· τῶν γὰρ ἐσχα-  
ρῶν οὐσῶν πεντήκοντα, ὀβελίσκοι γίνονται πεντακό-

<sup>15</sup> ἤγοντο Wilamowitz: ἵκοντο cod.

## 1. THE CONTEST

Gladly and swift hauled up the speedy ship.

The Colchian maid<sup>12</sup> then they bore away, and king  
Aietes—

They fled, for they saw he was inhospitable and  
uncivilized.

But when they had made libation and drunk up the  
sea swell—

They prepared to sail in their well-benched ships.

The son of Atreus prayed loud for them all, that they  
should perish—

At sea never, and he spoke this utterance:

“Eat, my guests, and drink, and may none of you  
return home to his dear homeland—

Harmed, but may you all arrive home in safety.”

As Homer had countered everything satisfactorily,  
Hesiod tried again:

Just tell me this one little thing that I ask:  
how many Achaeans went to Troy with the sons of  
Atreus?

He answered by means of an arithmetical problem:

There were fifty fire-hearths, and in each one  
fifty spits, with fifty pieces of meat on them,  
and thrice three hundred Achaeans round one piece  
of meat.

{This works out as an incredible quantity, for if there are 50  
hearths, the spits come out at 2,500, and the meat pieces at

<sup>12</sup> Medea.

σιοι καὶ χιλιάδες β', κρεῶν δὲ δεκαδύο μυριάδες <καὶ χιλιάδες> ἐ', †ϋν† . . .}¹⁶

- 11 κατὰ πάντα δὴ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ὑπερτεροῦντος, φθονῶν ὁ Ἡσίοδος ἄρχεται πάλιν·

υἱὲ Μέλητος Ὀμηρ', εἴ περ τιμῶσί σε Μοῦσαι,  
ὥς λόγος, ὑψίστοι<ο> Διὸς μεγάλοιο θύγατρес,  
λέξον μέτρῳ¹⁷ ἐναρμόζων, ὅ τι δὴ θνητοῖσιν  
κάλλιστόν <τε> καὶ ἔχθιστον <πο>θέω γὰρ  
ἀκοῦσαι.

ὁ δὲ φησιν·

Ἡσίοδ' ἔκγονε Δίου, ἐκόντά με ταῦτα κελεύεις  
εἰπεῖν· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μάλα τοι πρόφρων ἀγορεύσω.  
κάλλιστον μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔσται μέτρον εἶναι  
αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἔχθιστον ἀπάντων.  
ἄλλο δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι σῶι θυμῷ φίλον ἐστὶν ἐρώτα.

πῶς ἂν ἄριστ' οἰκοῖντο πόλεις καὶ ἐν ἡθεσι  
ποίοις;

—εἰ μὴ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσχροῶν ἐθέλοιεν,  
οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ τιμῶντο, δίκη δ' ἀδίκουσιν ἐπείη.

εὔχεσθαι δὲ θεοῖσι τί¹⁸ πάντων ἐστὶν ἄμεινον;  
—εὖνουν †εἶναι ἑαυτῷ†¹⁹ χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα.

¹⁶ καὶ χιλιάδες ἐ' Boissonade: ϋν cod. Interpolationem notavit West. ¹⁷ μέτρῳ Barnes: μέτρον cod.

¹⁸ θεοῖσι τί Rohde: θεοῖς ὅτι cod.

¹⁹ E.g. εὖνουν θυμὸν ἔχειν ἀστοῖς.

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125,000, so the number of men would be 112,500,000.)<sup>13</sup>

As Homer was keeping the upper hand throughout, Hesiod in frustration began again:

Son of Meles, Homer, if the Muses esteem you  
as is said, those daughters of Zeus the highest and  
greatest,  
say—fitting it into metre—what it is for mortals  
that is finest and what worst; I am eager to hear.

He said:

Hesiod, offspring of Dios, I am willing to say  
what you bid me; I will tell you very gladly.  
The finest thing is to be the measure of good  
for oneself, and the worst of all, to be so of evil.  
Now ask me anything else you fancy.

How would cities best be run, and by what  
standards?

—If they were prepared to abstain from immoral  
profiteering,  
and the men of quality were esteemed, and  
wrongdoers punished.

And what is the best thing to pray to the gods for?

—That they be well-disposed to the city evermore.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This looks like a Byzantine annotation, originally written in a margin; hence the Greek is damaged at the end.

<sup>14</sup> Text uncertain.

ἐν δ' ἐλαχίστῳ ἄριστον ἔχεις<sup>20</sup> ὃ τι φύεται  
εἰπεῖν;

—ὥς μὲν ἐμῇ γνώμῃ, φρένες ἐσθλαὶ στήθεσιν<sup>21</sup>  
ἀνδρῶν.

ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἀνδρείη δύναται τί;  
—κοινὰς ὠφελίας ἰδίους μόχθοισι πορίζειν.

τῆς σοφίης δὲ τί τέκμαρ ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι  
πέφυκεν;  
—γινώσκειν τὰ παρόντ' ὀρθῶς, καιρῶι δ' ἅμ'  
ἔπεσθαι.

πιστεῦσαι δὲ βροτοῖς ποῖον χρέος ἄξιόν ἐστιν;  
—οἷς αὐτὸς κίνδυνος ἐπὶ<sup>22</sup> πραχθεῖσιν ἔπεται.

ἡ δ' εὐδαιμονία τί ποτ' ἀνθρώποισι καλεῖται;  
—λυπηθέντ' ἐλάχιστα θανεῖν ἡσθέντά <τε>  
πλείστα.

- 12 ῥηθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες πάντες  
τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐκέλευον στεφανοῦν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς  
Παιήδης ἐκέλευσεν ἕκαστον τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ τῶν  
ἰδίων ποιημάτων εἰπεῖν. Ἡσίοδος οὖν ἔφη πρῶτος  
(Op. 383–392).

Πληϊάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων  
ἄρχεσθ' ἀμητοῦ, ἀρότιό τε δυσομενάων·  
αἱ δὲ τοι νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα  
κεκρύφεται, αὖθις δὲ περιπλομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ

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And can you say what best thing grows in smallest space?

—In my opinion, good sense in the human breast.

And what does righteousness and manliness mean?

—Providing public benefit through private strain.

And what is wisdom's birthmark upon men?

—Judging situations correctly, and seizing the moment.

And what circumstances merit putting trust in people?

—When they are equally at risk from the outcome.

And what is it that humans call happiness?

—Minimum pain and maximum pleasure before you die.

When these dicta too had been spoken, the Greeks all called for Homer to be garlanded as victor. But King Panedes told each poet to recite the finest passage from his own compositions. So Hesiod said first:

When the Pleiades born of Atlas rise before the sun,  
begin the reaping; the plowing, when they set.  
They for forty nights and days  
are hidden, and again as the year goes round

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<sup>20</sup> ἔχειν σ' cod.: corr. Hutchinson.

<sup>21</sup> στῆθυσιν West: σώμασιν cod. (cf. Stob. 3.3.45).

<sup>22</sup> ἐπὶ Stephanus: ἔτι cod.

φαίνονται τὰ πρῶτα χαρασσομένοιο σιδήρου.  
οὗτός τοι πεδίῳν πέλεται νόμος, οἳ τε θαλάσσης  
ἐγγύθι ναιετάουσ', οἳ τ' ἄγκεα βησσήεντα  
πόντου κυμαίνοντος ἀπόπροθι πίονα χῶρον  
ναίουσιν· γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βοωτεῖν,  
γυμνοὺς τ' ἀμάειν, ὅτ' ἂν ὥρια πάντα πέλονται.

μεθ' ὃν Ὅμηρος (Il. 13.126–33 + 339–344).

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' Αἴαντας δοιοὺς ἴσταντο φάλαγγες  
καρτεραί, ἃς οὐτ' ἄν κεν Ἄρης ὀνόσαιτο μετελθῶν  
οὔτε κ' Ἀθηναίη λαοσσόος· οἳ γὰρ ἄριστοι  
κρινθέντες Τρῳάς τε καὶ Ἑκτορα δῖον ἔμμινον,  
φράξαντες δόρυ δουρί, σάκος σάκεϊ προθελύμνῳ  
ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπὶδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ'  
ἀνὴρ,

ψαῦον δ' ἱππόκομοι κόρυθες λαμπροῖσι φάλαισιν  
νεύοντων· ὥς πυκνοὶ ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν.  
ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη φθεισίμβροτος ἐγχείησιν  
μακραίς, ἃς εἶχον ταμεσίχροας· ὅσσε δ' ἄμερδεν  
αὐγὴ χαλκείη κορύθων ἄπο λαμπομενάων  
θωρήκων τε νεοσμήκτων σακέων τε φαεινῶν,  
ἐρχομένων ἄμυδις· μάλα κεν θρασυκάρδιος εἴη,  
ὃς τότε γηθήσειεν ἰδὼν πόνον οὐδ' ἀκάχοιτο.

- 13 θαυμάσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ὅμηρον οἱ  
Ἑλληνες ἐπήνουν, ὥς παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον γεγονότων

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they first appear at the time of iron-sharpening.  
This is the rule of the land, both for those who live  
near the sea, and for those who live in the winding  
glens  
far from the swelling sea, a rich terrain:  
naked sow and naked drive the oxen,  
and naked reap, when all is in good season.

Then came Homer:

About the two Ajaxes the battle lines stood strong  
that neither would Ares have faulted had he come  
there  
nor Athena driver of armies; for the finest  
picked men were awaiting the Trojans and lordly  
Hector,  
hedging lance with lance, shield with shield  
overlapping;  
targe pressed on targe, helm on helm, man on man,  
and the horsehair plumes touched on the bright  
crests  
as they nodded, so close they stood to one another.  
The murderous battle bristled with long spears  
that they held to slice the skin; eyes were dazzled  
with the glint of the bronze from the shining helmets,  
the fresh-polished corslets, and the bright shields  
as the armies clashed. It would have been a bold-  
hearted man  
who felt joy at sight of that toil and not dismay.

Once again the Greeks were struck with admiration  
for Homer, praising the way the verses transcended the



τῶν ἐπῶν, καὶ ἐκέλευον διδόναι τὴν νίκην. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἐστεφάνωσεν, εἰπὼν δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ γεωργίαν καὶ εἰρήνην προκαλούμενον νικᾶν, οὐ τὸν πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς διεξιόντα. τῆς μὲν οὖν νίκης οὕτως φασὶ τυχεῖν τὸν Ἡσίοδον, καὶ λαβόντα τρίποδα χαλκοῦν ἀναθεῖναι ταῖς Μούσαις ἐπιγράψαντα·

Ἡσίοδος Μούσαις Ἑλικωνίσι τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν,  
ὕμνῳ νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θείῳ Ὅμηρον.

τοῦ δὲ ἀγῶνος διαλυθέντος διέπλευσεν ὁ Ἡσίοδος εἰς Δελφούς χρησόμενος καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀπαρχὰς τῷ θεῷ ἀναθήσων. προσερχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ ναῶι ἔνθεον γενομένην τὴν προφήτιν φασιν εἰπεῖν·

ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύει,  
Ἡσίοδος Μούσῃσι τετιμένος ἀθανάτησιν·  
τοῦ δ' ἦτοι κλέος ἔσται, ὅσῃν τ' ἐπικίδναται ἡώς.  
ἀλλὰ Διὸς πεφύλαξο Νεμείου κάλλιμον ἄλσος·  
κεῖθι δέ τοι θανάτοιο τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.

- 14 ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος ἀκούσας τοῦ χρησμοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου μὲν ἀνεχώρει, νομίσας τὴν ἐκεῖ Νεμέαν τὸν θεὸν λέγειν, εἰς δὲ Οἰνόην τῆς Λοκρίδος ἐλθὼν καταλύει παρ' Ἀμφιφάνει καὶ Γανύκτορι τοῖς Φηγέως παισίν, ἀγνοήσας τὸ μαντεῖον· ὁ γὰρ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας ἐκαλεῖτο Διὸς Νεμείου ἱερόν. διατριβῆς δὲ αὐτῷ πλείονος γενομένης ἐν τοῖς Οἰνοεῦσιν, ὑπονοήσαντες οἱ νεανίσκοι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν μοιχεύειν τὸν Ἡσί-

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merely fitting, and they called for him to be awarded the victory. The king, however, garlanded Hesiod, saying that it was right for the poet who encouraged people towards agriculture and peace to win, not the one who rehearsed battle and carnage. So that is how they say Hesiod got his victory, and that he received a bronze tripod and dedicated it the Muses with this inscription:

Hesiod dedicated this to the Muses of Helicon,  
having defeated in song at Chalcis the godly Homer.

When the games broke up, Hesiod sailed across to Delphi to consult the oracle and to dedicate a tithe of his victory to Apollo. As he approached the temple, they say the prophetess became possessed, and declared:

This is a fortunate man who attends my house:  
Hesiod, esteemed by the immortal Muses;  
his fame shall be known as far as the daylight  
spreads.

Only beware Nemean Zeus' fair grove,  
for there your mortal terminus is destined.

After hearing this oracle, Hesiod withdrew further away from the Peloponnese, thinking that the god meant the Nemea there, and he went to Oinoë in Locris, where he lodged with Amphiphanes and Ganyctor, the sons of Phegeus, not recognizing the reference of the prophecy, for that whole region was called sacred to Nemean Zeus. When he had stayed for some time among the people of Oinoë, the young men came to suspect that Hesiod was

οδον ἀποκτείναντες εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Εὐβοίας καὶ τῆς  
 Λοκρίδος πέλαγος κατεπόντισαν. τοῦ δὲ νεκροῦ τρι-  
 ταίου πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ δελφίνων προσενεχθέντος,  
 ἑορτῆς τινος ἐπιχωρίου παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔσης Ἴριον  
 ἀγνείας,<sup>23</sup> πάντες ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἔδραμον, καὶ τὸ  
 σῶμα γνωρίσαντες ἐκεῖνο μὲν πενθήσαντες ἔθαψαν,  
 τοὺς δὲ φονεῖς ἀνεζήτησαν. οἱ δέ, φοβηθέντες τὴν τῶν  
 πολιτῶν ὀργήν, κατασπάσαντες ἀλιευτικὸν σκάφος  
 διέπλευσαν εἰς Κρήτην· οὗς κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν ὁ  
 Ζεὺς κεραυνώσας κατεπόντωσεν, ὥς φησιν Ἀλκιδά-  
 μας ἐν Μουσεῖῳ. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησιν ἐν Ἡσιό-  
 δῳ<sup>24</sup> (fr. 17 Powell) Κτίμενον καὶ Ἄντιφον τοὺς  
 Γανύκτορος, ἐπὶ τῇ προειρημένῃ αἰτίᾳ ἀνελόντας  
 <τὸν ποιητὴν>,<sup>25</sup> σφαγιασθῆναι θεοῖς ξενίοις ὑπ' Εὐ-  
 ρυκλέους τοῦ μάντεως· τὴν μέντοι παρθένον τὴν  
 ἀδελφὴν τῶν προειρημένων μετὰ τὴν φθορὰν ἑαυτὴν  
 ἀναρτῆσαι· φθαρῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ξένου συνόδου τοῦ  
 Ἡσιόδου Δημῶδους ὄνομα, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναιρεθῆναι  
 ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν φησιν. ὕστερον δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι κατὰ  
 χρησμὸν μετενέγκαντες αὐτὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθαψαν,  
 καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ·

Ἄσκη μὲν πατρίς πολυλήϊος, ἀλλὰ θανόντος  
 ὁστέα πληξίππων γῇ Μινυῶν κατέχει

<sup>23</sup> Ἴριον ἀγνείας Nietzsche ex Plut. Mor. 162e: ἀριαδνεας  
 cod.

<sup>24</sup> Ἡσιόδῳ Götting: ἐνηπόδῳ cod.

<sup>25</sup> < > add. West.

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fornicating with their sister, and they killed him by drowning him in the sea between Locris and Euboea.<sup>15</sup> His corpse was brought to land by dolphins two days later while a certain local festival was in progress, the Purification of Rhion. Everyone ran to the shore and, recognizing the body, mourned him and gave him burial, and began to seek his murderers. They, fearing their fellow citizens' wrath, pulled a fishing boat down and sailed off towards Crete. In mid voyage Zeus cast a thunderbolt and drowned them, as Alcidas says in his *Museum*. Eratosthenes in his *Hesiod*, however, says that Ganyctor's sons Ktimenos and Antiphos killed <the poet> for the reason aforesaid, and were slaughtered in sacrifice to the Gods of Hospitality by the seer Eurycles; and that the girl, their sister, hanged herself following her defloration, which had been done by a foreigner travelling with Hesiod, Demodes by name; and he says that this man too was killed by the same pair. Subsequently the Orchomenians transported Hesiod's body on the basis of an oracle and buried it in their territory, inscribing on the tombstone:

Ascra, the rich cornland, was my home, but my dead  
bones  
the horse-goading Minyans' country holds:

<sup>15</sup> The compiler has wrongly taken the Locris of the story to be the eastern Locris. It is clear from all other versions that it was Ozolian Locris. Oinoe was the later name of the place that appears in Thucydides 3.95.3 as Oineon; see W. A. Oldfather, *RE* xvii. 2192.

Ἡσιόδου, τοῦ πλείστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλέος  
 ἐστίν  
 ἀνδρῶν κρινομένων ἐν βασάνῳ σοφίης.

- 15 καὶ περὶ μὲν Ἡσιόδου τοσαῦτα. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος  
 ἀποτυχὼν τῆς νίκης περιερχόμενος ἔλεγε τὰ ποιή-  
 ματα, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Θηβαΐδα, ἔπη ζ, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή  
 (fr. 1).

Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεά, πολυδίψιον, ἔνθεν ἄνακτες·  
 εἶτα Ἐπιγόνους,<sup>26</sup> ἔπη ζ, ὧν ἡ ἀρχή (fr. 1).

νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα, Μοῦσαι.

φᾶσι γάρ τινες καὶ ταῦτα Ὅμηρου εἶναι. ἀκούσαντες  
 δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν οἱ Μίδου τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες Ξάνθος  
 καὶ Γόργος παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα ποιῆσαι  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οὗ ἦν παρθένος  
 χαλκῇ τὸν Μίδου θάνατον οἰκτιζομένη. καὶ ποιεῖ οὕ-  
 τως (Epiigr. 3).

χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδου δ' ἐπὶ σήματος  
 ἦμαι.

ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάηι καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήληι  
 καὶ ποταμοὶ πλήθωσι, περικλύζηι δὲ θάλασσα,  
 ἥελιος δ' ἀνιὼν φαίνηι λαμπρά τε σελήνη,  
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ  
 σημανέῳ παριούσι, Μίδης ὅτι τῇδε τέθαιπται.

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mine, Hesiod's, whose fame is greatest in the world  
when men are tested by the touchstone of art.

So much for Hesiod. Homer, after his defeat in the contest, went about reciting his poems: firstly the *Thebaid* (7,000 lines), which begins

Sing, goddess, of thirsty Argos, from where the lords,  
and then the *Epigoni* (7,000 lines), which begins

But now, Muses, let us begin on the younger men.

(For some say that this too is Homer's work.) When King Midas' sons Xanthos and Gorgos heard his poetry, they invited him to compose an inscription on their father's tomb, which was surmounted by a bronze figure of a girl lamenting Midas' death. He composed this:

A bronze girl am I, and I sit on Midas' monument.  
So long as water flows, and trees grow tall,  
and rivers fill, and the sea surges round coasts,  
and the sun rises and shines, and the bright moon,  
I shall remain here on this tear-stained tomb  
to tell wayfarers that Midas is buried here.

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<sup>26</sup> ἐπειγομένου cod.: corr. Barnes.

λαβὼν δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἀνατίθησιν ἐν  
Δελφοῖς τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι, ἐπιγράψας·

Φοῖβε ἄναξ, δῶρόν τοι Ὅμηρος καλὸν ἔδωκα  
σῇσι ἐπιφροσύναις· σὺ δέ μοι κλέος αἰὲν  
ὀπάζεις.

- 16 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιεῖ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν ἔπη Μ,β,  
πεποικηκὼς ἤδη τὴν Ἰλιάδα ἐπῶν Μ,εφ'.<sup>27</sup> παραγενό-  
μενον δὲ ἐκείθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὸν ξενισθῆναί φασι  
παρὰ Μέδοντι τῶι βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἐν δὲ τῶι  
βουλευτηρίῳ ψύχους ὄντος καὶ πυρὸς καιομένου σχε-  
διάσαι λέγεται τούσδε τοὺς στίχους (Epiqr. 13)·

ἄνδρὸς μὲν στέφανος<sup>28</sup> παῖδες, πύργοι δὲ  
πόλῃς,  
ἵπποι δ' αὖ πεδίου κόσμος, νῆες δὲ θαλάσσης,  
λαὸς δ' εἰν ἀγορῇσι καθήμενος εἰσοράασθαι  
αἰθομένου δὲ πυρὸς γεραρώτερος οἶκος ιδέσθαι  
ἥματι χειμερίῳ, ὅπότε ἂν νείφησι Κρονίων.

- 17 ἐκείθεν δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον ἐρραψώδει  
τὰ ποιήματα. τιμηθεὶς δὲ μεγάλως παραγίνεται εἰς  
Ἄργος, καὶ λέγει ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιάδος (2.559–568ab) τὰ ἔπη  
τάδε·

οἱ δ' Ἄργός τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν  
Ἑρμιόνην τ' Ἀσίνην τε, βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον  
ἐχούσας,  
Τροιζῆν' Ἡϊόνας τε καὶ ἀμπελόεντ' Ἐπίδauρον

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They gave him a silver cup, which he dedicated to Apollo at Delphi with the inscription:

Lord Phoibos, this fair gift I, Homer, give you  
for your thoughtfulness. May you ever grant me  
fame.

After this he composed the *Odyssey* (12,000 lines), having already composed the *Iliad* (15,500 lines). They say he went on from there to Athens, where he was the guest of Medon, the Athenian king. And in the council chamber, the weather being cold and a fire burning, he is said to have improvised these lines:

A man's crown is his sons, a city's its walls;  
horses adorn the plain, and ships the sea,  
and the people that sits in the gathering to behold;<sup>16</sup>  
but a burning fire makes the house a prouder sight  
on a winter's day, when Kronos' son sends snow.

From there he arrived in Corinth, and recited his poems. Receiving much honor there, he arrived in Argos, and spoke these verses from the *Iliad*:

And those who held Argos and Tiryns with its walls,  
and Hermione and Asine, that command a deep gulf,  
Troezen and Eïones and vine-growing Epidaurus

<sup>16</sup> This line is a democratic adaptation of two lines in the version of the pseudo-Herodotean *Life*, 31.

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<sup>27</sup> M, β . . . M, ε φ' Nietzsche: μ β φ . . . μ ε cod.

<sup>28</sup> στέφανος vit. Hdt.: στέφανοι cod.



νῆσόν τ' Αἴγινα Μάσητά τε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,  
 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης  
 Τυδεΐδης, οὗ πατὴρ ἔχων μένος Οἰνείδαο,  
 καὶ Σθένελος, Καπαηὸς ἀγακλειτοῦ φίλος υἱός·  
 τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' Εὐρύπυλος τρίτατος κίεν ἰσόθεος  
 φῶς,

Μηκιστέως υἱὸς Ταλαϊονίδαο ἄνακτος.  
 ἐκ πάντων δ' ἡγεῖτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' ὀγδώκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο·  
 ἐν δ' ἄνδρες πολέμοιο δαήμονες ἐστιχώοντο  
 Ἀργεῖοι λινοθώρηκες, κέντρα πτολέμοιο.

τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων οἱ προεστηκότες ὑπερβολῇ χαρέντες  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνδο-  
 ξοτάτου τῶν ποιητῶν, αὐτὸν μὲν πολυτελέσι δωρεαῖς  
 ἐτίμησαν, εἰκόνα δὲ χαλκῇν ἀναστήσαντες ἐψηφί-  
 σαντο θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν Ὀμήρῳ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ  
 κατὰ μῆνα καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, <καὶ> ἄλλην θυσίαν  
 πενταετηρίδα εἰς Χίον ἀποστέλλειν. ἐπιγράφουσι δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ.

θεῖος Ὀμηρος ὃδ' ἐστίν, ὃς Ἑλλάδα τὴν  
 μέγαν αὖχον  
 πᾶσαν ἐκόσμησεν καλλιπεῖ σοφίῃ,  
 ἔξοχα δ' Ἀργείους, οἳ τὴν θεοτείχεα Τροίην  
 ἤρπυσαν ποινῇ<sup>29</sup> ἠὔκομον Ἑλένης.  
 οὗ χάριν ἔστησεν δῆμος μεγαλόπτολις αὐτόν  
 ἐνθάδε καὶ τιμαῖς ἀμφίπει ἀθανάτων.

## 1. THE CONTEST

and the island of Aegina, and Mases, Achaeans, lads,  
their leader was Diomedes, good at the war cry—  
Tydeus' son, with the force of his father, the son of  
Oineus—

and Sthenelos, glorious Capaneus' dear son.  
With those two went Eurypylus, godlike man,  
the son of Mekisteus, son of lord Talaos;  
but the leader of all was Diomedes, good at the war  
cry.

With them there followed eighty dark ships,  
and in them were ranged men skilled in fighting,  
the linen-corslet Argives, goads of war.

The Argive officials were exceedingly delighted to hear  
their race being praised by the most celebrated of poets.  
They honored him with costly gifts, set up a bronze statue  
of him, and voted to perform a sacrifice for Homer daily,  
monthly, and yearly, and to send another one every fifth  
year to Chios. On his statue they inscribed:

This is the godly Homer, who has adorned  
all of proud Hellas with his verbal art,  
above all the Argives, who smashed Troy's god-built  
wall  
as restitution for what fair-tressed Helen did.  
Because of this the people of this great city  
has set him here, and treats him with honors  
divine.

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<sup>29</sup> *πουνῆς* cod.: corr. Barnes.

- 18 ἐνδιατρίψας δὲ τῇ πόλει χρόνον τινὰ διέπλευσεν εἰς Δῆλον εἰς τὴν πανηγυριν. καὶ σταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν κεράτινον βωμὸν λέγει ὕμνον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή (Hymn. Ap. 1).

μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο.

ῥηθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕμνου οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες πολίτην αὐτὸν κοινὸν ἐποιήσαντο, Δῆλιοι δὲ γράψαντες τὰ ἔπη εἰς λεύκωμα ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ.

τῆς δὲ πανηγύρεως λυθείσης ὁ ποιητὴς εἰς Ἴον ἔπλευσε πρὸς Κρεώφυλον, κακεῖ χρόνον διέτριβε πρεσβύτης ὢν ἡδῆ. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης καθήμενος παίδων τινῶν ἀφ' ἀλείας ἐρχομένων ὥς φασι πυνθόμενος (Epiqr. 17).

ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας<sup>30</sup> θηρήτορες, ἧ ῥ' ἔχομέν  
τι;

εἰπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων

ὅσος ἔλομεν λιπόμεσθα, ὅς' οὐχ ἔλομεν  
φερόμεσθα,

οὐ νοήσας τὸ λεχθὲν ἤρετο αὐτοὺς ὅ τι λέγοιεν. οἱ δὲ φασιν ἐν ἀλείαι μὲν ἀγρεῦσαι μηδέν, ἐφθειρίσθαι δέ, καὶ τῶν φθειρῶν οὓς ἔλαβον καταλιπεῖν, οὓς δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις φέρειν. ἀναμνησθεὶς δὲ τοῦ

<sup>30</sup> ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας cod., item Procl. et Anon. II, III: ἄγρης ἀλῆς Koechly.

## 1. THE CONTEST

After he had spent some time in the city, he sailed to Delos for the panegyris, and taking his stand at the Altar of Horns, he recited the *Hymn to Apollo*, which begins

Let me call to mind and not neglect Apollo the far-shooter.

When the hymn had been recited, the assembled Ionians conferred joint citizenship on him, while the Delians wrote out the verses on a placard and dedicated it in the temple of Artemis.

When the panegyris broke up, the poet sailed to Ios to see Creophylus, and spent some time there; by now he was getting on in years. As he was sitting by the sea, they say he asked some boys who were returning from fishing,

O huntsmen from Arcadia,<sup>17</sup> have we caught anything?

When they replied,

The ones we caught we left behind, the ones we missed we carry,

he did not understand, and asked them what they meant. They explained that they had caught nothing on their fishing expedition, but they had de-loused themselves, and the lice they had caught they had left behind, but the ones they failed to catch they were still carrying in their clothes.

<sup>17</sup> "From Arcadia" makes no sense, and may be an ancient corruption for "of marine prey" (*ἀγρῆς ἀλίσης*). But other Lives have the same reading, so it is likely to have stood in the *Certamen* from the start.

μαντείου, ὅτι τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ ἦκοι τοῦ βίου, ποιεῖ τὸ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα. ἀναχωρῶν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν, ὄντος πηλοῦ ὀλισθὼν καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πλευράν, τριταῖος ὥς φασι τελευτᾷ· καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Ἰωί. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει,  
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα, θεῖον Ὅμηρον.

## 1. THE CONTEST

Then he remembered the prophecy, that the end of his life had come, so he composed his own tomb inscription. And as he was returning from there, the ground being muddy, he slipped and fell on his side, and within three days, so they say, he died. He was buried in Ios, and this is the inscription:

Here the earth conceals that sacred head,  
adorner of warrior heroes, the godly Homer.

## ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΛΙΚΙΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΟΥ

- 1 Ἡρόδοτος Ἀλικαρνησεὺς περὶ Ὅμηρου γενέσιος καὶ ἡλικίης καὶ βιοτῆς τάδε ἱστορήκε, ζητήσας ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον.

ἐπεὶ γὰρ Κύμη ἢ πάλαι Αἰολιῶτις ἐκτίζετο, συνήλθον ἐν αὐτῇ παντοδαπὰ ἔθνεα Ἑλληνικά, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Μαγνησίης ἄλλοι τέ τινες καὶ Μελάνωπος ὁ Ἰθαγένεος τοῦ Κρήθωνος, οὐ πολύφορτος ἀλλὰ βραχέα τοῦ βίου ἔχων. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μελάνωπος ἔγημεν ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ θυγατέρα Ὀμύρητος, καὶ αὐτῷ γίνεται ἐκ κοίτης θῆλυ τέκνον, ᾧ ὄνομα τίθεται Κρηθηΐδα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Μελάνωπος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτησαν τὸν βίον· τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα ἐπιτρέπει ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ἐχρήτο μάλιστα, Κλεάνακτι {τῷ}<sup>31</sup> Ἀργεῖωι.

- 2 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος συνέβη τὴν παῖδα μιγεῖσαν ἀνδρὶ λαθραίως ἐν γαστρὶ σχεῖν. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἐλάνθανεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤισθετο ὁ Κλεάναξ, ἤχθετο τῇ συμφορῇ, καὶ καλεσάμενος τὴν Κρηθηΐδα χωρὶς πάντων ἐν αἰτίῃ μεγάλῃ εἶχεν, ἐπιλεγόμενος τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας. προβουλεύεται οὖν

## 2. (PSEUDO-)HERODOTUS ON HOMER'S ORIGINS, DATE, AND LIFE

Herodotus of Halicarnassus has produced this account of Homer's origins, date, and life, endeavoring to pursue the questions to the most accurate conclusion.

When the old Aeolian Cyme was being founded, there came together in it every kind of Hellenic people. Among those that came from Magnesia was Melanopus, son of Ithagenes the son of Crethon, not with a great deal of baggage, but with modest means. This Melanopus married at Cyme a daughter of Omyres, and from their union he got a female child, to whom he gave the name Cretheis. And Melanopus himself and his wife came to the end of their lives, but the daughter he entrusted to a man with whom he had much contact, Cleanax, an Argive.

Some time later it happened that the girl had secret intercourse with a man and became pregnant. At first no one noticed; but when Cleanax observed it, he was vexed at the occurrence, and summoning Cretheis to see him in private, he rebuked her roundly, adding that it put them to shame in the city. So he made the following plan for her.

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<sup>31</sup> Del. Wilamowitz.



περὶ αὐτῆς τάδε· ἔτυχον οἱ Κυμαῖοι κτίζοντες τότε τοῦ Ἑρμείου κόλπου τὸν μυχόν· κτιζομένοισι δὲ τὴν πόλιν Σμύρναν ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα Θησεύς, μνημεῖον ἐθέλων καταστήσαι τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἐπώνυμον· ἦν γὰρ αὐτῇι τοῦνομα Σμύρνα. ὁ δὲ Θησεὺς ἦν τῶν τὴν Κύμην κτισάντων ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Θεσσαλῶν, ἀπὸ Εὐμήλου τοῦ Ἀδμήτου, κάρτα εὖ ἔχων τοῦ βίου. ἐνταῦθα ὑπεκτίθεται ὁ Κλεάναξ τὴν Κρηθηΐδα πρὸς Ἴσμηνίην Βοιώτιον, τῶν ἀποίκων λελογχότα, ὃς ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ ἐὼν ἐταῖρος τὰ μάλιστα.

3 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἐξελθοῦσα ἡ Κρηθηΐς μετ' ἄλλων γυναικῶν πρὸς ἑορτὴν τινα ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Μέλητα, ἥδη ἐπίτοκος οὔσα, τίκτει τὸν Ὅμηρον, οὐ τυφλὸν ἀλλὰ δεδορκότα· καὶ τίθεται ὄνομα τῷ παιδίῳ Μελησιγένεα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβοῦσα. τέως μὲν οὖν ἡ Κρηθηΐς ἦν παρὰ τῷ Ἴσμηνίῃ· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐργασίης χειρῶν ὥρμημένη ἔτρεφε τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἑωυτήν, ἄλλοτε παρ' ἄλλων ἔργα λαμβάνουσα· καὶ ἐπαίδευε τὸν παῖδα ἀφ' ὧν ἡδύνατο.

4 ἦν δέ τις ἐν Σμύρνῃι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Φήμιος τοῦνομα, παῖδας γράμματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην μουσικὴν διδάσκων πᾶσαν. οὗτος μισθοῦται τὴν Κρηθηΐδα, ὣν μονότροπος, ἐριουργῆσαι αὐτῷ εἰρία τινα ἢ παρὰ τῶν παίδων ἐς μισθὸν ἐλάμβανεν. ἡ δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ εἰργάζετο, πολλῶι <τῷ><sup>32</sup> κοσμίῳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃι πολλῇι χρωμένη, καὶ τῷ Φημίῳ κάρτα ἡρέσκετο. τέλος δὲ προσηνέγκατο αὐτῇι λόγους πείθων ἑωυτῷ συν-

## 2. PSEUDO-HERODOTUS

The Cymaeans were just then colonizing the inner part of the gulf of the Hermus; the colony was named Smyrna by Theseus, who wanted to establish a memorial bearing the name of his own wife, for she was named Smyrna. Theseus was one of the leading Thessalian founders of Cyme, a descendant of Eumelus the son of Admetus, and a man of abundant means. There Cleanax placed Cretheis with Ismenias, a Boeotian who had been allotted a place among the colonists, and who was a great friend of his.

Some time later Cretheis went out with other women to a festival at the river known as the Meles; her time was due, and she gave birth to Homer, who was not blind but sighted. And she named the child Melesigenes, taking the name from the river. For the moment she was still with Ismenias. But some time later she left his house, and proceeded to keep the child and herself by manual work, taking employment from different people at different times, and she saw to her son's education as her means allowed.

Now there was in Smyrna at this time a man named Phemius, who gave boys instruction in reading and writing and the other humanities. He lived alone, and he hired Cretheis to card and spin bundles of wool that he got from the boys as school fees. She worked for him, displaying a high degree of modesty and decency, and Phemius was well pleased with her. Finally he approached her with the

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<sup>32</sup> Add. West.

οικεῖν, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ λέγων οἷς μιν ὤιετο προσάξεσθαι, καὶ ἔτι περὶ τοῦ παιδός, υἱὸν ποιούμενος, καὶ ὅτι τραφεῖς καὶ παιδευθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἄξιος λόγου ἔσται (ἑώρα γὰρ τὸν παῖδα ὄντα συνετὸν καὶ κάρτα εὐφυέα), ἔστ' ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὴν ποιεῖν ταῦτα.

5 ὁ παῖς δὲ ἦν τε φύσιν ἔχων ἀγαθήν, ἐπιμελῆς τε καὶ παιδεύσιος προσγενομένης αὐτίκα πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑπερεῖχε. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγενομένου ἀνδρούμενος οὐδὲν τοῦ Φημίου ὑποδεέστερος ἦν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ. καὶ οὕτως ὁ μὲν Φῆμιος ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον, καταλιπὼν πάντα τῷ παιδί, οὐ πολλῶι δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἡ Κρηθηῖς ἐτελεύτησεν· ὁ δὲ Μελησιγένης ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ καθειστήκει. καθ' ἑωυτὸν δὲ γενόμενος μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐωράτο, καὶ αὐτοῦ θωυμασταὶ καθειστήκεισαν οἱ τε ἐγχώριοι καὶ τῶν ξένων οἱ ἐσαπικνεόμενοι. ἐμπόριον γὰρ ἦν ἡ Σμύρνα, καὶ σίτος ἐξήγετο πολὺς αὐτόθεν, ἐκ τῆς ἐπικειμένης χώρας δαιφιλέως κάρτα ἐσαγόμενος ἐς αὐτήν. οἱ οὖν ξένοι, ὁκότε παύσονται τῶν ἔργων, ἀπεσχόλαζον παρὰ τῷ Μελησιγένῃ ἐγκαθίζοντες.

6 ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τότε καὶ Μέντης ναύκληρος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Λευκάδα τόπων, καταπεπλευκὸς ἐπὶ σίτον ἔχων ναῦν, πεπαιδευμένος τε ἀνὴρ ὥς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πολυῖστωρ· ὅς μιν ἔπεισε τὸν Μελησιγένη μεθ' ἑωυτοῦ πλεῖν καταλύσαντα τὴν διδασκαλίαν, μισθὸν τε λαμβάνοντα καὶ τὰ δέοντα πάντα, καὶ ὅτι τὸ χώρας καὶ πόλιας θεήσασθαι ἄξιον εἴη αὐτῷ ἕως νέος ἐστί. καὶ μιν οἶομαι μάλιστα τούτοις προσ-

## 2. PSEUDO-HERODOTUS

proposal that she should live with him; among many other arguments that he thought would induce her, he referred to her child, saying that he would adopt him as his son, and that once educated by himself he would be a person of note (for he could see that the boy was intelligent and highly gifted); until he persuaded her to do so.

The boy was naturally endowed, and with the benefit of attention and education he quickly began to stand out far above the rest. When in time he reached manhood, he was nothing inferior to Phemius in learning. So it was when Phemius came to the end of his life, leaving everything to the boy; not long afterwards Cretheis died too, and Melesigenes was established as the teacher. Being now on his own, he attracted more notice, and earned the admiration both of the local people and of those foreigners who came in. For Smyrna was a trading center, and much grain was exported from there, as it was brought in from the surrounding country in great abundance; so when the foreigners stopped work, they used to spend time sitting in on Melesigenes.

There was among them at that period a shipowner Mentès from the Leucas region, who had sailed in with his ship for grain, an educated man for his time and a knowledgeable one. He persuaded Melesigenes to close his school and sail with him, for a wage and all found, adding that it was worth seeing countries and cities while he was still young. And I think that he was won over by this argu-

αχθῆναι· ἴσως γὰρ καὶ τῇ ποιήσει ἤδη τότε ἐπενόει ἐπιθήσεσθαι. καταλύσας δὲ τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐναυτίλλετο μετὰ τοῦ Μέντεω. καὶ ὅπου ἐκάστοτε ἀφίκοιτο, πάντα τὰ ἐπιχώρια διεωρᾶτο, καὶ ἱστορέων ἐπυνθάνετο· εἰκὸς δέ μιν ἦν καὶ μνημόσυνα πάντων γράφεσθαι.

7 ἀνακομιζόμενοι δὲ ἐκ Τυρσηνίης καὶ {τῆς} Ἰβηρίας ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἰθάκην. καὶ τῷ Μελησιγένει συνέβη νοσήσαντι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κάρτα δεινῶς ἔχειν, καὶ αὐτὸν θεραπείης εἵνεκεν, πλεῖν μέλλων ἐς τὴν Λευκάδα, καταλείπει<sup>33</sup> ὁ Μέντης παρὰ ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ ἐωντοῦ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Μέντορι τῷ Ἀλκίμου Ἰθακησίῳ, πολλὰ δεηθεὶς ἐπιμελίην ἔχειν· ἐπαναπλώσας δὲ ἀναλήψεσθαι αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Μέντωρ ἐνοσήλευεν αὐτὸν ἐκτενέως· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ βίου ἀρκεόντως εἶχε, καὶ ἤκουεν εὖ ἐς δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ φιλοξενίην μακρῶι μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Ἰθάκῃ ἀνδρῶν. ἐνταῦθα συνέβη τῷ Μελησιγένει τὰ περὶ Ὀδυσσέως ἐξιστορήσαι καὶ πυθέσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἰθακήσιοι λέγουσι τότε μιν παρ' ἐωντοῖς τυφλωθῆναι· ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ φημι, τότε μὲν ὑγιῇ γενέσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ ἐν Κολοφῶνι τυφλωθῆναι· συνομολογοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Κολοφῶνιοι τούτοις.

8 ὁ δὲ Μέντης ἀναπλέων ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος προσέσχευεν ἐς τὴν Ἰθάκην καὶ ἀνέλαβε τὸν Μελησιγένεα· χρόνον τε ἐπὶ συχνὸν συμπεριέπλει αὐτῷ. ἀπικομένῳ δὲ ἐς Κολοφῶνα συνέβη πάλιν νοσήσαντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μὴ δύνασθαι διαφυγεῖν τὴν νόσον, ἀλλὰ τυφλωθῆναι ἐνταῦθα. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολοφῶνος τυφλὸς ἐὼν ἀπικνέεται

## 2. PSEUDO-HERODOTUS

ment above all; for it may be that he was already thinking of setting his hand to poetry. He closed the school and sailed with Mentès. And wherever he went on each occasion, he observed all the local details and learned more by enquiry; and probably he also made written notes of everything.

Coming back from Etruria and Spain, they arrived at Ithaca, and it happened that Melesigenes developed an eye ailment and was in a very bad way. So that he could be looked after, Mentès, who was sailing to Leucas, left him with a great friend of his, Mentor, son of Alkimos, an Ithacan, entreating him to take care of him; he said he would pick him up on his return trip. Mentor tended him assiduously, for he had sufficient means, and much the best reputation of the men in Ithaca for uprightness and hospitality. It was there that Melesigenes enquired into and learned the story of Odysseus. The Ithacans say that it was then, among them, that he became blind; but as I maintain, he recovered on that occasion and became blind later in Colophon, and the Colophonians agree with me on this.

When Mentès sailed back from Leucas, he put in at Ithaca and picked Melesigenes up, and for a long time he continued to sail about with him. But when he came to Colophon, it happened that his eye ailment recurred, and he could not get rid of it but became blind there. From Colophon, as a blind man, he went to Smyrna, and in these

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<sup>33</sup> καταλείπει Wilamowitz: καταλιπεῖν codd.

ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπεχείρει τῇ ποιήσει.

- 9 χρόνου δὲ προϋόντος, ἐν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἄπορος ἔων τοῦ βίου, διανοήθη ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Κύμην. πορευόμενος δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ἑρμου πεδίου ἀπικνέεται ἐς Νέον τείχος, ἀποικίην Κυμαίων· ὠκίσθη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὥστερον Κύμης ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται αὐτὸν ἐπιστάνατα ἐπὶ σκυτεῖόν τι εἰπεῖν πρῶτα τὰ ἔπεα τάδε (Epigr. 1).

αἰδεῖσθε ξενίων κεχρημένον ἡδὲ δόμοιο,  
οἱ πόλιν αἰπεινὴν νύμφης ἐριώπιδος Ἑρῆς<sup>34</sup>  
ναίετε, Σαιδήνης<sup>35</sup> πόδα νείατον ὑψικόμοιο,  
ἀμβρόσιον πίνοντες ὕδωρ θείου ποταμοῖο  
Ἑρμου δινηέντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς.

ἡ δὲ Σαιδήνη ὄρος ἐστὶν ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ τε Ἑρμου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Νέου τείχους. τῷ δὲ σκυτεῖ ὄνομα ἦν Τυχίος· ἀκούσαντι δὲ τῶν ἐπέων ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ δέξασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἡλέησε γὰρ αἰτέοντα τυφλόν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐσιέναι τε αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ ἐργαστήριον καὶ μετέξειν ἔφη τῶν παρεόντων· ὃ δὲ ἐσῆλθε. κατήμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ σκυτεῖω, παρεόντων καὶ ἄλλων, τὴν τε ποίησιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεδείκνυτο, Ἀμφιάρεώ τε τὴν ἐξελασίαν τὴν ἐς Θήβας, καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς ἐς θεοὺς πεποιημένους αὐτῷ, καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἐς τὸ μέσον γνώμας ἀποφαινόμενος θωύματος ἄξιος ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τοῖς ἀκούουσι.

- 10 τέως μὲν οὖν κατεῖχεν ὁ Μελησιγένης περὶ τὸ Νέον



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circumstances he began to essay poetry.

Some time later, finding himself short of the means of livelihood in Smyrna, he decided to go to Cyme. As he journeyed across the plain of the Hermus, he arrived at Neonteichos, a Cymaeon colony, founded eight years after Cyme. There it is said that he turned up at a cobbler's and recited these as his first verses (*Epigram* 1):

Have respect for one in need of house and  
hospitality,  
you that dwell in the steep city of fair-eyed Hera the  
Bride  
on the lowest spur of high-forested Saidene,  
drinking the ambrosial water of the divine river,  
the eddying Hermus, born of immortal Zeus.

Saidene is a mountain lying above the river Hermus and Neonteichos. The cobbler's name was Tychios, and when he heard the verses, he decided to take the fellow in, as he felt pity for a blind man begging. He invited him in to the workshop and promised him a share of what there was, and he went in. As he sat in the cobbler's shop, with others also present, he would perform his poetry for them, *Amphiaraus' Expedition to Thebes*, and the Hymns that he had composed to the gods; and also by contributing comments on things that those present said, he made a great impression on his hearers.

So for the time being Melesigenes stayed around

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<sup>34</sup> *νύμφης ἐρατώπιδος Ἡρης* Hymnorum codd.: *Κύμην ἐριώπιδα κούρην* Vitae codd.

<sup>35</sup> Ita fere Hymnorum codd. et Steph. Byz.: *σαρδῆνης* et mox *σαρδῆνι* Vitae codd.



- τείχος, ἀπὸ τῆς ποιήσιος {γε}<sup>36</sup> τοῦ βίου τὴν μηχανὴν ἔχων. ἐδείκνυνον δὲ οἱ Νεοτειχεῖς μέχρις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὸν χῶρον ἐν ᾧ κατίζων τῶν ἐπέων τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιέετο, καὶ κάρτα ἐσέβοντο τὸν τόπον· ἐν ᾧ καὶ αἵγειρος ἐπεφύκει, ἣν ἐκείνοι ἔφασαν ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Μελησιγένης
- 11 ἦλθεν αὐτοῖς πεφυκέναι. | χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, ἀπόρως κείμενος καὶ μόλις τὴν τροφὴν ἔχων, ἐπενοήθη ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀπικέσθαι, εἴ τι βέλτιον πρήξει. μέλλων δὲ πορεύεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα λέγει (Eriqr. 2).

αἶψα πόδες με φέροιεν ἐς αἰδοίων πόλιν ἀνδρῶν·  
τῶν γὰρ καὶ θυμὸς πρόφρων καὶ μῆτις ἀρίστη.

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Νέου τείχεος πορευόμενος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Κύμην διὰ Λαρίσσης τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενος· ἦν γὰρ οὕτως αὐτῷ εὐπορώτατον· καί, ὥς Κυμαῖοι λέγουσι, τῷ Φρυγίης βασιλῆϊ Μίδει τῷ Γορδίῳ, δεθθέντων πενθερῶν αὐτοῦ, ποιῶν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε, τὸ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης τοῦ μνήματος {τοῦ Γορδίῳ} ἐπιγέγραπται (Eriqr. 3).

ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ρέηι καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήληι  
ἡέλιός τ' ἀνιῶν λάμπηι λαμπρά τε σελήνη,  
αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτου ἐπὶ τύμβου  
ἀγγελέω παριούσι, Μίδης ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται.

- 12 κατίζων δὲ ἐν ταῖς λέσχαις τῶν γερόντων ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ ὁ Μελησιγένης τὰ ἔπεα τὰ πεποιημένα αὐτῷ

<sup>36</sup> Del. Wilamowitz.

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Neonteichos, making his living from his poetry. The Neonteichians were still exhibiting up to my time the place where he used to sit and give performances of his verses, and they held it in great reverence. There was a poplar growing there which they said had grown up from when Melesigenes came to them. Some time later, however, being hard up and finding it difficult to feed himself, he decided to go to Cyme in the hope of doing better. Before he set out, he spoke these verses (*Epigram 2*):

May my legs bring me soon to a respectful town:  
the heart of such men is willing, their devices the  
best.

Setting out from Neonteichos, he reached Cyme by way of Larissa, for that was his easiest route. There, as the Cymaeans say, he composed this inscription for the Phrygian king Midas, son of Gordies, at the request of his kinsmen, and it is still inscribed on his memorial stele (*Epigram 3*):

So long as water flows, and trees grow tall,  
and the sun rises and shines, and the bright moon,  
I shall remain here on this tear-stained tomb  
to tell wayfarers that Midas is buried here.<sup>18</sup>

At Cyme Melesigenes sat in the old men's saloons and performed the poems he had composed, and entertained

<sup>18</sup> This famous epigram is quoted by many authors. A longer version appears at *Certamen* 15.

- ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔτερπε τοὺς ἀκούοντας· καὶ αὐτοῦ θωυμασταὶ καθειστήκεσαν. γνούς δὲ ὅτι ἀποδέκονται αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, καὶ ἐς συνήθειαν ἔλκων τοὺς ἀκούοντας, λόγους πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιούσδε προσήνεγκε, λέγων ὡς εἰ θέλοιεν αὐτὸν δημοσίῃ τρέφειν, ἐπικλεεστάτην αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ποιήσει. τοῖς δὲ ἀκούουσι βουλομένοις τε ἦν ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτῶι<sup>37</sup> παρήνεον ἐλθόντα ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν δεηθῆναι τῶν βουλευτέων· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν συμπρήξειν. ὁ δὲ ἐπείθετο αὐτοῖς, καὶ βουλῆς συλλεγομένης ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευεῖον ἐδείκτο τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ ταύτῃ καθεστῶτος ἀπαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν· ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε καὶ ἐπεὶ καιρὸς ἦν ἀπήγαγε. καταστὰς δὲ ὁ Μελησιγένης ἔλεξε περὶ τῆς τροφῆς τὸν λόγον ὃν καὶ ἐν  
 13 ταῖς λέσχαις ἔλεγεν. ὡς δὲ εἶπεν, ἐξελθὼν ἐκάθητο· | οἱ δὲ ἐβουλεύοντο, ὅ τι χρεὼν εἴη ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτῶι. προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀπαγαγόντος αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλλων ὅσοι τῶν βουλευτέων ἐν ταῖς λέσχαις ἐπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, τῶν βασιλέων<sup>38</sup> ἓνα λέγεται ἐναντιωθῆναι τῇ χρήμῃ αὐτοῦ, ἅλλὰ τε πολλὰ λέγοντα καὶ ὡς εἰ τοὺς ὁμήρους δόξει τρέφειν αὐτοῖς, ὅμιλον πολλόν τε καὶ ἀχρεῖον ἔξουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα Ὅμηρος ἐπεκράτησε τῶι Μελησιγένει ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς· οἱ γὰρ Κυμαῖοι τοὺς τυφλοὺς ὁμήρους λέγουσιν· ὥστε πρότερον ὀνομαζομένου αὐτοῦ Μελησιγέneos τοῦτο  
 14 γενέσθαι τοῦνομα, Ὅμηρος, | καὶ οἱ ξένοι διήνεγκαν

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his hearers in conversation, so that they became admirers of his. Seeing that the Cymaeans were receptive to his poetry, and drawing his hearers into familiarity with him, he made an approach to them, saying that if they were prepared to support him at public expense, he would make their city outstandingly famous. This was agreeable to them, and they advised him to go to the council and petition the councillors; they said that they themselves would support him. He followed their advice, and as the council assembled he went to the council room and asked the duty officer to take him in to the council. He undertook to do so, and at the appropriate moment he led him in. Melesigenes took his stand and made the speech about his support that he had made in the saloons. When he had spoken, he went out and sat down, while they deliberated what answer to give him. The man who had brought him in was keen, as were those councillors who had heard him in the saloons, but it is said that one of the law lords opposed his application, his chief argument being that if they decided to provide for *homēroi*, they would have a large, useless crowd on their hands. It was from then that the name Homer prevailed for Melesigenes, from his disability, for the Cymaeans call the blind *homēroi*; so that whereas he had previously been called Melesigenes, this became his name, Homer, and people from elsewhere disseminated it

<sup>37</sup> αὐτῶι West: αὐτοὶ codd.: del. Wilamowitz.

<sup>38</sup> Var. βουλευτέων.

ὅτε μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. ἐτελεύτα δ' οὖν ὁ λόγος  
 τῷ ἄρχοντι μὴ τρέφειν τὸν Ὅμηρον, ἔδοξε δέ πως καὶ  
 τῇ ἄλλῃ βουλῇ. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ὁ ἐπιστάτης καὶ παρ-  
 ἐζόμενος αὐτῷ διηγήσατο τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας λόγους  
 τῇ χρήμῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ. ὁ δὲ ὡς  
 ἤκουσεν, ἐσυμφόρησεν τε καὶ λέγει τὰ ἔπεα τάδε (Erigr.  
 4).

- οἴημι μ' αἴσῃ δῶκε πατὴρ Ζεὺς κύρμα γενέσθαι,  
 νήπιον αἰδοίης ἐπὶ γούνασι μητρὸς ἀτάλλων.  
 ἦν ποτ' ἐπύργωσαν βουλῇ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
 λαοὶ Φρίκωνος, μάργων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων,  
 5 ὀξύτεροι<sup>39</sup> μαλεροῖο πυρὸς κρίνοντες ἄρηα,  
 Αἰολίδα Σμύρνην ἀλιγείτονα, πότνιαν ἀκτὴν,<sup>40</sup>  
 ἦν τε δι' ἀγλαὸν εἴσιν ὕδωρ ἱεροῖο Μέλητος—  
 ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι κοῦραι Διὸς, ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,  
 ἠθελέτην κλήισαι δῖαν χθόνα καὶ πόλιν  
 ἀνδρῶν·  
 10 οἳ δ' ἀπανηνάσθην ἱερὴν ὄπα, φῆμιν ἀοιδῆς,<sup>41</sup>  
 ἀφραδίῃ. τῶν μὲν τε παθῶν τις φράσσεται  
 αὖτις,  
 ὅς σφιν ὀνειδεσίημι>σιν ἐμὸν διεμήσατο πότμον.  
 κῆρα δ' ἐγὼ τήν μοι θεὸς ὥπασε γεινομένωι περ  
 τλήσομαι, ἀκράαντα φέρων τετληότι θυμῷ,  
 15 οὐδ' ἔτι μοι φίλα γυῖα μένειν ἱεραῖς ἐν ἀγνιαῖς

<sup>39</sup> ὀξύτεροι West: ὀπλότεροι codd.

<sup>40</sup> πότνιαν ἀκτὴν Scaliger: ποτνιανάκτον codd.

<sup>41</sup> ἀοιδὴν codd.: corr. Wolf.

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when they spoke of him. Anyway, the conclusion of the magistrate's speech was that they should not support Homer, and the rest of the council was somehow persuaded. The presiding officer came and sat with him and explained the arguments that had been used against his application, and the decision of the council. On hearing this, he was disappointed, and spoke these verses (*Epigram 4*):

What a fate father Zeus made me prey to  
when he fostered me, an infant on my modest  
mother's knees!

The city fortified at goat-rider Zeus' design  
by Phrikon's host,<sup>19</sup> riders of furious steeds,  
keener than ravening fire to decide the battle,  
Aeolian Smyrna, seaneighbor, holy shore,  
traversed by the bright water of holy Meles—  
going forth from there Zeus' daughters, his glorious  
children,<sup>20</sup>

desired to celebrate a noble land and city of men,  
but they in their folly refused the holy voice, the  
word of song.

Someone of them will realize when he suffers,  
the one who decided my lot by way of insults.  
Well, I shall bear the fate God gave me at my birth,  
accepting failure with enduring heart;  
but my dear legs no longer wish to stay

<sup>19</sup> Phrikon is presumably a legendary founder of Cyme, invented as one explanation of the city's epithet Phrikonis (chapter 38).

<sup>20</sup> The Muses.

Κύμης ὀρμαίνουσιν· μέγας δέ με θυμὸς ἐπείγει  
 δῆμον ἐς ἀλλοδαπῶν ἰέναι ὀλιγηπελέοντα.<sup>42</sup>

- 15      μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐκ τῆς Κύμης ἐς Φω-  
 καίην, Κυμαίοις ἐπαρησάμενος μηδένα ποιητὴν δόκι-  
 μον ἐν τῇ χώρῃ γενέσθαι ὅστις Κυμαίους ἐπαγλαϊεῖ.  
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Φωκαίην τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἐβιότευ-  
 εν, ἔπεα ἐνδεικνύμενος ἐν ταῖς λέσχαις κατίζων. ἐν δὲ  
 τῇ Φωκαίῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Θεστορίδης τις ἦν  
 γράμματα διδάσκων τοὺς παῖδας, ἀνὴρ οὐ κρήνυος·  
 κατανοήσας δὲ τοῦ Ὀμήρου τὴν ποίησιν, λόγους  
 τοιούσδε αὐτῷ προσήνεγκε, φὰς ἐτοῖμος εἶναι θερα-  
 पेύειν καὶ τρέφειν αὐτὸν ἀναλαβών, εἰ ἐθέλοι ἅ τε  
 πεποιημένα εἶη αὐτῷ τῶν ἐπέων ἀναγράψασθαι καὶ  
 16      ἄλλα ποιῶν πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ἀναφέρειν αἰεῖ. | τῷ δὲ Ὀμή-  
 ρῳ ἀκούσαντι ἔδοξε ποιητέα εἶναι ταῦτα· ἐνδεὴς γὰρ  
 ἦν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ θεραπείης. διατρίβων δὲ παρὰ  
 τῷ Θεστορίδῃ ποιεῖ Ἰλιάδα τὴν ἐλάσσω, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή  
 (fr. 1).

Ἴλιον αἰίδω καὶ Δαρδανίην εὐπωλον,

ἧς περὶ πολλὰ πάθον Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἄρηος·

καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Φωκαΐδα, ἣν φασιν οἱ Φωκαεῖς  
 Ὀμηρον παρ' αὐτοῖσι ποιῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε Φωκαΐ-  
 δα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα παρὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ὁ Θεστορίδης  
 ἐγράψατο, διενεόθη ἐκ τῆς Φωκαίης ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι,  
 τὴν ποίησιν θέλων τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἐξιδιώσασθαι. καὶ  
 οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν ἐπιμελίῃ εἶχε τὸν Ὀμηρον· ὁ δὲ

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in Cyme's holy streets: my great heart urges me  
to go to a different people in my debility.

After that he left Cyme for Phocaea, laying a curse on the Cymaeans that no poet of note should be born in the place to glorify the Cymaeans.<sup>21</sup> Having reached Phocaea, he lived in the same manner as before, performing poems as he sat in the saloons. Now in Phocaea at this time there was one Thestorides teaching boys to read and write, not a good man. When he became aware of Homer's poetry, he made an approach to him, offering to take him in and look after him and feed him, if he was willing to set down in writing the poems he had composed, and when he composed more, always to bring them to him. When Homer heard this he decided he should do it, as he was short of the necessities of life and in need of care. While staying with Thestorides he composed the *Lesser Iliad*, which begins

Of Ilios I sing, and Dardania land of fine colts,  
over which the Danaans suffered much, servants of  
the War god,

and the poem called *Phocais*, which the Phocaeans say Homer composed among them. Now when Thestorides had written down for himself at Homer's dictation the *Phocais* and all the rest, he formed the plan of going away from Phocaea, because he wanted to appropriate Homer's poetry. And he was no longer so solicitous about Homer,

<sup>21</sup> This perhaps relates to the migration of Hesiod's father from Cyme to Boeotia before the poet's birth.

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<sup>42</sup> ὀλιγηπελέοντα West: ὀλίγον περ ἔόντα codd.



λέγει αὐτῷ τὰ ἔπεα τάδε (Epigr. 5).

Θεστορίδῃ, θνητοῖσιν ἀνωϊστων πολέων περ,  
οὐδὲν ἀφραστότερον πέλεται νόου ἀνθρώποιο.<sup>43</sup>

ὁ μὲν δὴ Θεστορίδης ἐκ τῆς Φωκαίης ἀπηλλάγη ἐς τὴν Χίον καὶ διδασκαλεῖον κατεσκευάσατο· καὶ τὰ ἔπεα ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὡς ἑωυτοῦ ἑόντα ἔπαινόν τε πολλὸν εἶχε καὶ ὠφελεῖτο· ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διηγιᾶτο ἐν τῇ Φωκαίῃ, ἀπὸ τῆς ποιήσιος τὴν βιοτὴν ἔχων.

- 17 χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα ἄνδρες Χῖοι ἔμποροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἃ πρότερον ἀκηκόεσαν πολλάκις ἐν τῇ Χίῳ τοῦ Θεστορίδου, ἐξήγγελλον Ὁμήρῳ ὅτι ἐν Χίῳ τις ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα γραμμάτων διδάσκαλος κάρτα πολλὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος κατενόησεν ὅτι Θεστορίδης ἂν εἴη, καὶ παντὶ θυμῷ ἐσπούδαζεν ἐς τὴν Χίον ἀπικέσθαι. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα, ἐς μὲν τὴν Χίον οὐ καταλαμβάνει οὐδὲν πλοῖον πλέον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἐρυθραίην τινὲς ἐπὶ ξύλα παρεσκευάζοντο πλεῖν. καλῶς δὲ εἶχε τῷ Ὁμήρῳ δι' Ἐρυθρέων τὸν πλοῦν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ προσελθὼν ἔχρηζε τῶν ναυτέων δέξασθαι αὐτὸν σύμπλουν, πολλά τε καὶ προσαγωγὰ λέγων οἷς σφέας ἔμελλε πείσειν. τοῖς δὲ ἔδοξε δέξασθαι αὐτόν, καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐσβαίνειν ἐς τὸ πλοῖον. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ἐσέβη, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἔζετο λέγει τὰ ἔπεα τάδε (Epigr. 6).

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who addressed him in these verses (*Epigram 5*):

Thestorides, though many things come to mortals  
unexpected,  
there is nothing more unfathomable than the mind of  
man.

So Thestorides left Phocaea for Chios, and set up a school there; and by performing the poems as if they were his own, he enjoyed much praise and profit. Meanwhile Homer continued to live in the same style in Phocaea, supporting himself from his poetry.

Not long afterwards some Chian merchants arrived in Phocaea, and when they heard from Homer the poems that they had heard often before in Chios from Thestorides, they told Homer that there was someone in Chios performing these poems, a teacher of letters, and that he was enjoying much acclaim. Homer realized that it would be Thestorides, and he became very eager to get to Chios. He went down to the harbor, and though he found no vessel sailing to Chios, there were some men preparing to sail to the Erythrae area for timber. Homer was content to make his voyage by way of Erythrae, and he went and asked the sailors to take him as a passenger, with many enticing arguments likely to persuade them. They agreed to take him, and told him to embark. Homer thanked them profusely and went on board, and once he had sat down he spoke these verses (*Epigram 6*):

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<sup>43</sup> ἀνθρώποισι codd.: corr. Wilamowitz.

κλῦθι, Ποσείδαον μεγαλοσθενὲς ἐννοσίγαιε,  
 †εὐρυχόρου† μεδέων ἡδὲ ζαθέου<sup>44</sup> Ἑλικῶνος,  
 δὸς δ' οὖρον καλὸν καὶ ἀπῆμονα νόστον  
 ἀρέσθαι

ναύταις, οἳ νηὸς πομποὶ ἡδ' ἀρχοὶ ἔασιν.

- 5 δὸς δ' ἐς ὑπωρείην ὑψικρήμνοιο Μίμαντος  
 αἰδοίων μ' ἐλθόντα βροτῶν ὁσίων τε κυρῆσαι,  
 φῶτά τε τεισαίμην ὃς ἐμὸν νόον ἡπεροπεύσας  
 ὠδύσατο Ζῆνα ξένιον ξενίην τε τράπεζαν.

- 18 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκοντο εὐπλοήσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθραίην,  
 τότε μὲν Ὅμηρος τὴν αὖλιν ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ ἐποιήσατο·  
 τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐχρηζέ τῶν ναυτέων τινὰ ἡγήσα-  
 σθαι αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἳ δὲ συνέπεμψαν ἕνα αὐτῷ.  
 πορευόμενος δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐπεὶ ἔτυχε τῆς Ἐρυθραίας  
 τρηχείης τε καὶ ὀρεινῆς ἐούσης, φθέγγεται τάδε τὰ  
 ἔπεα (Epiqr. 7).

πότνια Γῇ πάνδωρε, δότειρα μελίφρονος ὄλβου,  
 ὥς ἄρα δὴ τοῖς μὲν φωτῶν εὖοχθος ἐτύχθης,  
 τοῖσι δὲ δύσβωλος καὶ τρηχεῖ, οἷς ἐχολώθης.

- ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἐρυθραίων  
 ἐπηρώτησε περὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν Χίον πλοῦ· καὶ τινος  
 προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τῶν ἐωρακότων ἐν τῇ Φωκαίῃ  
 καὶ ἀσπασαμένον, ἐχρηζεν αὐτοῦ συνεξευρεῖν αὐτῷ  
 19 πλοῖον, ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὴν Χίον διαβαίῃ. | ἐκ μὲν δὴ τοῦ

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Hearken, Poseidon, powerful earth-shaker,  
ruler of †broad-arena'd†<sup>22</sup> and of holy Helicon,  
and grant a fair wind and a safe passage  
to the sailors, the ship's escorts and commanders.  
And grant that when I come to the foot of towering  
Mimas

I may find people respectful and righteous;  
and may I punish the man who deceived me  
and angered Zeus of Guests, and the guest-table.

When they reached the Erythrae area after a good voyage, for that night Homer bivouacked on the ship, but the next day he asked one of the sailors to conduct him into the town, and they sent one to escort him. As he made his way, finding the Erythraean terrain rough and mountainous, Homer uttered these verses (*Epigram 7*):

Mistress Earth all-bounteous, giver of sweet  
prosperity,  
how well-contoured you are formed for some men,  
and for others, with whom you are wroth, how  
lumpish and rough.

On reaching the town of Erythrae, he enquired about his passage to Chios; and when someone who had seen him in Phocaea came up and greeted him, he asked this man to help him find a vessel so that he could cross to Chios.

<sup>22</sup> We require a place name paired with Helicon. Compare Hymn 22.3, "Helicon and broad Aegae."

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<sup>44</sup> ζαθέου Ruhnkenius: ξανθοῦ codd. Ante h.v. lac. stat. Wilamowitz.

λιμένος οὐδὲν ἦν ἀπόστολον· ἄγει δὲ αὐτὸν ἔνθα τῶν  
 ἀλιέων τὰ πλοῖα ὀρμίζεται, καὶ πως ἐντυγχάνει μέλ-  
 λουσί τισι διαπλεῖν ἐς τὴν Χίον, ὧν ἐδέετο προσελθὼν  
 ὁ ἄγων αὐτὸν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν Ὅμηρον. οἱ δὲ οὐδένα  
 λόγον ποιησάμενοι ἀνήγοντο· ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος φθέγγε-  
 ται τάδε τὰ ἔπεα (Epiqr. 8)·

ναῦται ποντοπόροι, στυγερῇ ἐναλίγκιοι αἴσῃ  
 πτωκάσιν αἰθυίῃσι, βίον δύσζηλον ἔχοντες,  
 αἰδέισθε ξενίῳ Διὸς σέβας ὑψιμέδοντος·  
 δεινὴ γὰρ μετόπισθεν ὄπισ Διός, ὅς κ' ἀλίτηται.

ἀναχθείσι δὲ αὐτοῖς συνέβη ἐναντίου ἀνέμου γενομέ-  
 νου παλινδρομῆσαι καὶ ἐς τὸ χωρίον ἀναδραμεῖν ὅθεν  
 ἀνηγάγοντο καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον καταλαβεῖν ἔτι<sup>45</sup> καθή-  
 μενον ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς. μαθὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς πεπαλιν-  
 δρομηκότας ἔλεξε τάδε (Epiqr. 9)·

ὑμᾶς, ὦ ξεῖνοι, ἄνεμος λάβεν ἀντίος ἐλθῶν·  
 ἀλλ' ἔτι νῦν δέξασθε, καὶ ὁ πλόος ἔσσεται  
 ὑμῖν.<sup>46</sup>

οἱ δὲ ἀλιεῖς ἐν μεταμελίῃ γενόμενοι, ὅτι οὐ καὶ  
 πρότερον ἐδέξαντο, εἰπόντες ὅτι οὐ καταλιμπάνουσιν  
 ἦν ἐθέλοι συμπλεῖν, ἐκέλευον ἐσβαίνειν· καὶ οὕτως  
 ἀναλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἀνήχθησαν, καὶ ἴσχουσιν ἐπ'  
 20 ἀκτῆς. | οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀλιεῖς πρὸς ἔργον ἐτράπησαν· ὁ δὲ  
 Ὅμηρος τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατέμεινε,  
 τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν πορευόμενος καὶ πλανώμενος ἀπῆκετο  
 ἐς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ὃ Πίτυς καλεῖται. κἀνταῦθα αὐτῶι

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There was no packet boat from the harbor, but he took him to where the fishing boats moor, and somehow fell in with a group who were about to cross to Chios. The guide went up to them and asked them to take Homer. They ignored him, and put out to sea, whereupon Homer uttered these verses (*Epigram* 8):

Seafarer sailors, who share the horrid lot  
of the timorous shearwaters, with your unenviable  
life,  
respect the Zeus of Guests who rules on high:  
dreadful is Zeus' retribution that follows if one errs.

And after they had put out, it happened that a contrary wind arose, and they were blown back and beached at the spot from where they had set forth; they found Homer still sitting on the foreshore. When he became aware that they had been driven back, he said (*Epigram* 9):

An adverse wind has come and seized you, sirs;  
but take me even now, and you'll have your sailing.

The fishermen repented of having refused to take him before, and saying that they would not leave him behind if he wanted to sail with them, they encouraged him to embark. So they took him on board, and set out; and they put in on an open shore. The fishermen then turned to their work. Homer stayed on the beach for the night, and next day he set off to walk. His wanderings brought him to the place called Pity's (Pine). As he was resting there for the night,

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<sup>45</sup> καταλαβεῖν Kassel, ἔτι Westermann: ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπικodd.

<sup>46</sup> Versiculos in prosam dissolutos restituit Barnes.

ἀναπανομένωι τὴν νύκτα ἐπιπίπτει καρπὸς τῆς πίτυος,  
ὃν δὴ μετεξέτεροι στρόβιλον, οἳ δὲ κῶνον καλέουσιν.  
ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος φθέγγεται τὰ ἔπεα τάδε (Epigr. 10).

ἄλλη τίς σου πεύκη ἀμείνονα καρπὸν ἵησιν  
Ἰδης ἐν κορυφήισι πολυπτύχου ἠνεμοέσσης,  
ἔνθα σίδηρος Ἄρης ἐπιχθονίοισι βροτοῖσιν  
ἔσσεται, εὖτ' ἄν μιν Κεβρήνιοι ἄνδρες ἔχωσιν.

τὰ δὲ Κεβρήνια τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον κτίζειν οἱ Κυμαῖοι  
παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τῇ Ἰδῇ· καὶ γίνεται αὐτόθι  
σίδηρος πολὺς.

- 21 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναστὰς Ὅμηρος ἐπορεύετο κατὰ φωνήν τινα αἰγῶν νεμομένων. ὥς δὲ ὑλάκτεον αὐτὸν οἱ κύνες, ἀνέκραγεν· ὁ δὲ Γλαῦκος ὥς ἤκουσε τῆς φωνῆς (ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο ὄνομα τῷ νέμοντι τὰς αἶγας), ἐπέδραμεν ὀτραλέως, τοὺς τε κύνας ἀνεκαλείτο καὶ ἀπεσόβησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου. ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐν θούματι ἦν, ὅκως τυφλὸς ἐὼν μόνος ἀπίκοιτο ἐς τοιούτους χώρους, καὶ ὅτι θέλων προσελθὼν τέ μιν ἱστορέει, ὅστις τε ἦν καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς τόπους ἀοικήτους καὶ ἀστιβέα χωρία, καὶ τίνος κεχρημένος εἴη. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πάθην καταλεγόμενος ἐς οἶκτον προηγάγετο· ἦν γάρ, ὥς ἔοικεν, οὐδ' ἀγνώμων ὁ Γλαῦκος. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸν σταθμόν, πῦρ τε ἀνακαύσας δεῖπνον παρασκευάζει, καὶ παραθεὶς δειπνεῖν ἐκέλευεν {ὁ Γλαῦ-
- 22 κος}.<sup>47</sup> | τῶν δὲ κυνῶν ἐστώτων καὶ ὑλακτούντων δειπνοῦντας, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν, λέγει πρὸς τὸν Γλαῦ-

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there fell upon him that fruit of the pine that some call a whorl and others a cone. Homer uttered these verses (*Epigram* 10):

Another pine puts forth a better fruit than yours  
on the peaks of Ida with its windy glens,  
where the War god's iron shall be among mortals  
on earth, when it belongs to Kebrenian men.

It was at this time that the Cymaeans were preparing to colonize Kebrenia near Mt. Ida; and much iron is produced there.<sup>23</sup>

Homer got up from there and went on his way, following a bleating of goats at pasture. When the dogs barked at him, he shouted out, and Glaucus, hearing his voice—this was the name of the goatherd—ran up hastily, called the dogs back, and shooed them away from Homer. For a long time he was in wonderment at how a blind man had found his way to such a place all alone, and what he wanted. He approached him and asked him who he was, and how he had found his way to uninhabited regions and trackless areas, and what he was after. Homer related all that had happened to him, and aroused his sympathy, for it seems that Glaucus was not an unfeeling man. He took him and led him to his steading, made up the fire, and prepared a meal, and putting it before him invited him to eat. When the dogs stood and barked at them while they ate, as they

<sup>23</sup> There was in that region in the time of Attalus I a mighty pine, some 67 metres tall and seven metres in circumference (Strabo 13.1.44).

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<sup>47</sup> Del. Wilamowitz.



κον Ὅμηρος τὰ ἔπεα τάδε (Epiogr. 11).

Γλαῦκε βοτῶν<sup>48</sup> ἐπιόπτα, ἔπος τί τοι ἐν φρεσὶ  
θήσω.

πρῶτον μὲν κυσὶ δείπνον ἐπ' αὐλείησι θύρησιν  
δοῦναι· τὼς γὰρ ἄμεινον· ὃ γὰρ καὶ πρῶτος<sup>49</sup>  
ἀκούει

ἀνδρὸς ἐπερχομένου καὶ ἐς ἔρκεα θηρὸς ἰόντος.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος ἦσθη τῇ παραινέσει, καὶ  
ἐν θωύματι εἶχεν αὐτόν. δειπνήσαντες δὲ διὰ λόγων  
εἰστιῶντο· ἀπηγεομένου δὲ Ὅμηρου τὴν τε πλάνην  
τὴν ἑωυτοῦ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἃς ἐσαπύκοιτο, ἔκπληκτος  
ἦν ὁ Γλαῦκος ἀκούων. καὶ τότε μὲν, ἐπεὶ ὥρη κοίτου  
23 ἦν, ἀνεπαύετο· | τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ διανοήθη ὁ Γλαῦκος  
πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην πορευθῆναι σημανέων τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
Ὅμηρου. ἐπιτρέψας δὲ τῷ συνδούλῳ νέμειν τὰς  
αἶγας, τὸν Ὅμηρον καταλείπει ἔνδον, εἰπὼν πρὸς  
αὐτόν ὅτι διὰ ταχέων πορεύσομαι, καταβὰς δὲ ἐς  
Βολισσόν (ἔστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ χωρίου τούτου) καὶ  
συγγενόμενος τῷ δεσπότηι ἀπηγέετο ὑπὲρ Ὅμηρου  
πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, περί τε αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀπίξιος ἐν  
θωύματι ποιούμενος, ἐρώτέε τε ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ  
αὐτόν. ὃ δὲ ὀλίγα μὲν προσίετο τῶν λόγων, κατ-  
εγίνωσκε δὲ τοῦ Γλαύκου ὡς ἄφρονος ἐόντος τοὺς  
ἀναπήρους δεχομένου καὶ τρέφοντος· ἐκέλευε δὲ ὁμως  
τὸν ξεῖνον ἄγειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν.

24 ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ὅμηρον διηγήσατο ταῦτα ὁ  
Γλαῦκος καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι, οὕτω γὰρ

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normally did, Homer recited these verses to Glaucus (*Epigram* 11):

Glaucus, overseer of livestock, let me put a saying in  
your mind:  
first give the dogs their dinner at the yard gates.  
It is better so: that dog is the first to hear  
a man's approach, or a beast entering the stockade.

Hearing this, Glaucus was pleased with the advice, and wondered at the man. After their meal they entertained themselves with conversation, and when Homer related his travels and all the towns he had visited, Glaucus was astonished as he listened. For the moment, as it was time for bed, he took his rest. But the next day Glaucus decided to go to his master to tell him about Homer. Entrusting the pasturing of the goats to his fellow slave, he left Homer indoors, promising to come back shortly, and went down to Bolissos (which is near the place in question), met up with his master, and related the whole matter of Homer just as it was, treating his arrival as a marvel, and he asked him what to do about him. But his master accepted little of what he said, and condemned Glaucus as a fool for taking in and feeding the disabled. Nevertheless, he said he should bring the stranger to him.

Returning to Homer, Glaucus related this and told him he should go, for he would do well out of it; and Homer

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<sup>48</sup> βροτῶν ἐπίοπτα Suda (βοτῶν Küster): πέπων ἐπιών τι Vitae codd.

<sup>49</sup> πρῶτος West: πρῶτον Vitae codd.: πρόσθεν Suda.

εὖ πρήξειν· ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἤθελε πορεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Γλαῦκος ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην. διὰ λόγων δὲ ἰὼν τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ὁ Χίος εὐρίσκει ἐόντα δεξιὸν καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειρον· ἔπειθέ τε αὐτόθι μένειν καὶ τῶν παιδίων ἐπιμελίην ποιέεσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ τῷ Χίῳ παῖδες ἐν ἡλικίῃ. τούτους οὖν αὐτῷ παρατίθεται παιδεύειν, ὁ δὲ ἔπρησσε ταῦτα. καὶ τοὺς Κέρκωπας καὶ Βατραχομαχίαν καὶ Ψαρομαχίην καὶ Ἑπταπακτικὴν καὶ Ἐπικιχλίδας καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὅσα παίγνιά ἐστιν Ὀμήρου ἐνταῦθα ἐποίησε παρὰ τῷ Χίῳ ἐν Βολισσῶι, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει περιβόητος ἤδη ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ποιήσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν Θεστορίδης, ὡς τάχιστα ἐπύθετο αὐτὸν παρεόντα, ὥιχετο ἐκπλέων ἐκ τῆς Χίου.

25 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος δεηθεὶς τοῦ Χίου πορεύσai αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Χίον ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν· καὶ διδασκαλεῖον κατασκευασάμενος ἐδίδασκε παῖδας τὰ ἔπεα. καὶ κάρτα δεξιὸς κατεδόκεεν εἶναι τοῖς Χίοις, καὶ πολλοὶ θυνμασταὶ αὐτοῦ καθειστήκεσαν. συλλεξάμενος δὲ βίον ἱκανὸν γυναῖκα ἔγημεν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ θυγατέρες δύο ἐγένοντο· καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτῶν ἄγαμος ἐτελεύτησε, τὴν δὲ συνώικισεν ἀνδρὶ Χίῳ.

26 ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ τῇ ποιήσει ἀπέδωκε χάριν ἣν εἶχε, πρῶτον μὲν Μέντορι τῷ Ἰθακησίῳ ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσεΐῃ, ὅτι μιν κάμνοντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐν Ἰθάκῃ ἐνοσήλευεν ἐκτενέως, τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ ἐναρμόσας ἐς τὴν ποίησιν Ὀδυσσεὺς τε ἑταῖρον φᾶς εἶναι, ποιήσας Ὀδυσσέα, ὡς ἐς Τροίην ἔπλεε, Μέντορι ἐπιτρέψαι τὸν

wanted to go. So Glaucus took him and conducted him to his master. When the Chian talked to Homer, he found that he was clever and had wide experience, so he urged him to stay there and take care of his children; for the Chian had sons of age. So he entrusted them to him to educate, and Homer undertook the job. And the *Cercopes*, the *Battle of Frogs*, the *Battle of Starlings*, the *Heptapaktike*, the *Epikichlides*, and the rest of Homer's fun poems,<sup>24</sup> he composed there in the Chian's house at Bolissos, with the result that he now became renowned for his poetry in the city too. And as soon as Thestorides learned that he was there, he took sail and departed from Chios.

Some time later Homer asked the Chian to convey him to Chios, and he arrived in the city. He set up a school and began teaching boys his poems. He struck the Chians as very clever, and many became his firm admirers. After amassing sufficient means, he married a woman, from whom two daughters were born to him. One of them died unwed, the other he married off to a Chian.

When he turned his hand to poetry, he rendered his gratitude, firstly to Mentor the Ithacan in the *Odyssey*, for having tended him so assiduously when his eyes were ailing in Ithaca: he found a place for his name in the poem, making him a comrade of Odysseus' and writing that when Odysseus sailed to Troy he entrusted his household to

<sup>24</sup> On these titles see the Introduction to the Homeric Apocrypha above.

οἶκον ὡς εἰσὶν Ἰθακησίων ἀρίστῳ καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ.  
πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς ποιήσεως τιμῶν αὐτὸν τὴν  
Ἀθηνᾶν, ὅποτε ἐς λόγον τινὶ καθίσταται, τῷ Μέντορι  
οἰκῦαν ποιεῖ. ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ Φημίῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ  
διδασκάλῳ τροφείᾳ καὶ διδασκαλείᾳ ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσ-  
σείῃ, μάλιστα ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσι (Od. 1.153–155).

κήρυξ δ' ἐν χερσὶν κίθαριν περικαλλέ' ἔθηκεν  
Φημίῳ, ὃς δὴ πολλὸν ἐκαίνντο πάντας ἀείδων·  
{καὶ πάλιν}  
αὐτὰρ ὃ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν ἀεΐδειν.

μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τοῦ ναυκλήρου μεθ' οὗ ἐκπεριέπλευσε  
καὶ εἶδε πόλιός τε πολλὰς καὶ χώρας, ὧι ὄνομα ἦν  
Μέντης, ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε (Od. 1.180–181).

Μέντης Ἀγχιάλῳ δαΐφρονος εὐχομαι εἶναι  
υἱός, ἀτὰρ Ταφίοισι φιληρέτμοισιν ἀνάσσω.

ἀπέδωκε δὲ χάριν καὶ Τυχίῳ τῷ σκυτεῖ, ὃς ἐδέξατο  
αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Νέῳ τείχει προσελθόντα πρὸς τὸ σκυ-  
τεῖον, ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καταζεύξας ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι τοῖσδε  
(Il. 7.219–221).

Αἴας δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε φέρων σάκος ἥντε πύργον,  
χάλκεον ἑπταβόειον, ὃ οἱ Τυχίος κάμε τεύχων,  
σκυτοτόμων ὅχ' ἄριστος, ὅτλη ἐνὶ οἰκίᾳ ναίων.

- 27 {ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ποιήσεως ταύτης εὐδοκίμει Ὅμηρος  
περὶ τε τὴν Ἰωνίην, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤδη περὶ  
αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀνεφέρετο.}<sup>50</sup> κατοικέων δὲ ἐν τῇ Χίῳ

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Mentor, as the worthiest and most upright of the Ithacans. In many other passages of the poem too he honored him by making Athena take Mentor's form when she entered into conversation with someone. He also repaid his teacher Phemius for his upbringing and education in the *Odyssey*, especially in these verses:

And the herald placed the lovely lyre in the hands  
of Phemius, who far surpassed all in his singing,  
and he struck up the lyre for a fine song.

He also recalls the shipowner with whom he sailed out all over and saw many towns and countries—his name was Mentès—in these verses:

I declare myself to be Mentès, the wise Anchialus' son, and I am lord over the Taphians, lovers of the oar.

He rendered thanks also to Tychios, the cobbler who received him at Neonteichos when he came to his shop, by embodying him in these verses of the *Iliad*:

But Ajax came from nearby with his shield like a tower,  
his bronze one of seven hides, made for him by Tychios,  
the finest of leather workers, who dwelt in Hyle.

{From this poetic activity Homer was celebrated around Ionia, and reports of him were now reaching the Greek mainland.} Living as he was in Chios and celebrated

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50 { } secl. West.

καὶ εὐδοκίμεων περὶ τὴν ποίησιν, ἀπικνεομένων πολ-  
λῶν πρὸς αὐτόν, συνεβούλευον οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐ-  
τῷ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπικέσθαι. ὁ δὲ προσεδέξατο τὸν  
28 λόγον, καὶ κάρτα ἐπεθύμει ἀποδημῆσαι. | κατανοήσας  
δὲ ὅτι ἐς μὲν Ἄργος πολλαὶ <οἱ><sup>51</sup> καὶ μεγάλαι εἶεν  
εὐλογίαι πεποιημέναι, ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐ, ἐμποιεῖ ἐς  
τὴν ποίησιν, ἐς μὲν Ἰλιάδα τὴν μεγάλην Ἐρεχθέα  
μεγαλύνων ἐν Νεῶν καταλόγῳ τὰ ἔπεα τάδε (Il. 2.547-  
548).

δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη  
θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα.

καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Μενεσθέα αἰνέσας ὡς  
πάντων εἴη ἄριστος τάξαι πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ ἱππότας,  
ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἶπε (Il. 2.552-554).

τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευεν υἱὸς Πετεῶιο Μενεσθεύς.  
τῷ δ' οὐ πῶ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ  
κοσμῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

Αἴαντα δὲ τὸν Τελαμῶνος καὶ Σαλαμινίους ἐν Νεῶν  
καταλόγῳ ἔταξε πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, λέγων ᾧδε (Il.  
2.557-558).

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγειν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,  
στήσῃ δ' ἄγων ἔν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.  
ἐς δὲ τὴν Ὀδυσσεΐην τάδε ἐποίησεν, ὡς Ἀθηναῖ ἐς

<sup>51</sup> οἱ add. Wilamowitz (is quidem post μεγάλαι).

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for his poetry, with many people coming to hear him, those who made his acquaintance recommended him to go to mainland Greece. He was open to the suggestion, and very much wanted to travel. Realizing that he had composed many passages conferring high praise on Argos, but none on Athens, he inserted into his poetry, into the *Great Iliad*<sup>25</sup> to magnify Erechtheus these verses in the Catalogue of Ships:

the people of great-hearted Erechtheus, whom once  
Athena  
nurtured, Zeus' daughter, and the grain-giving  
plowland bore;

and in praise of their commander Menestheus, that he was the best of all men at marshalling infantry and charioteers, he said in these verses:

They in turn were led by Peteos' son, Menestheus.  
No man on earth has ever been his equal  
in arraying the horse and the warrior men;

and Ajax the son of Telamon and his Salaminians in the Catalogue of Ships he ranged with the Athenians, as follows:

And Ajax from Salamis brought twelve ships,  
brought them and set them where stood the Athenian  
lines;

and into the *Odyssey* he wrote that Athena, after a conver-

<sup>25</sup> This unusual appellation distinguishes the poem from the *Lesser Iliad* mentioned in chapter 16.



λόγους ἐλθοῦσα τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἀπίκητο, τιμῶσα ταύτην τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων μάλιστα (Od. 7.80–81).

ἴκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυχόρους ἐς  
Ἀθήνας,  
δύνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον.

- 29 ἐμποιήσας δὲ ἐς τὴν ποίησιν ταῦτα καὶ <τᾶλλα><sup>52</sup> παρασκευασάμενος, ἐς Ἑλλάδα βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τὸν πλοῦν προσίσχει τῇ Σάμῳ. ἔτυχον δὲ οἱ ἐκείσε τὸν τότε καιρὸν ἄγοντες ἑορτὴν Ἀπατούρια. καί τις τῶν Σαμίων ἰδὼν τὸν Ὅμηρον ἀπιγμένον, πρότερον αὐτὸν ὁπωπὺς ἐν Χίῳ, ἐλθὼν ἐς τοὺς φράτορας διηγῆσατο, ἐν ἐπαίνῳ μεγάλῳ ποιούμενος αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ φράτορες ἐκέλευον ἄγειν αὐτόν· ὃ δὲ ἐντυχὼν τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἔλεξεν, “ὦ ξένε, Ἀπατούρια ἀγούσης τῆς πόλιος καλέουσί σε οἱ φράτορες οἱ ἡμέτεροι συνεορτάσσοντα.” ὃ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἔφη ταῦτα ποιήσῃν, καὶ ἦι
- 30 μετὰ τοῦ καλέσαντος. | πορευόμενος δὲ ἐγχρίμπεται γυναιξὶ Κουροτρόφῳ θυούσαις ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ· ἡ δὲ ἱέρεια εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσχεράνασα τῇ ὄψει, “ἄνερ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν.” ὃ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐς θυμόν τε ἔβαλε τὸ ῥηθέν, καὶ ἦρετο τὸν ἄγοντα τίς τε εἴη ὁ φθελγῶν, καὶ τίνι θεῶν ἱερὰ θύεται· ὃ δὲ αὐτῷ διηγῆσατο ὅτι γυνὴ εἴη, Κουροτρόφῳ θύουσα. ὃ δὲ ἀκούσας λέγει τὰ ἔπεα τάδε (Epiogr. 12).

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sation with Odysseus, went to the Athenians' citadel, thus honoring this above other cities:

And she came to Marathon and broad-arena'd  
Athens,  
and went in to Erechtheus' firm house.

Having made these insertions in his poetry and his other preparations, he was intending to voyage to mainland Greece, but put in at Samos. It happened that the people there were just then celebrating the festival of the Apatouria;<sup>26</sup> and one of the Samians, on seeing that Homer had arrived, having seen him previously in Chios, went and told his clansmen, commending him heartily. The clansmen said he should bring him along, so he went to Homer and said, "Sir, the city is celebrating the Apatouria, and our clansmen invite you to join them for the festival." Homer said he would, and went with the man who had invited him. On the way he encountered some women sacrificing to Kourotrophos<sup>27</sup> where the roads met, and the priestess, displeased at the sight of him, said, "You man, get away from the sacrifice." Homer took the words to heart, and asked his escort who it was that had spoken and to what deity the sacrifice was being made. He explained that it was a woman, sacrificing to Kourotrophos. On hearing that he spoke these verses (*Epigram* 12):

<sup>26</sup> A characteristically Ionian festival, concerned with the admission of new members to clans.

<sup>27</sup> A goddess concerned with the nurture of the young.

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<sup>52</sup> < > add. Schadewaldt.

κλυθί μοι εὐχομένωι, Κουροτρόφε, δὸς δὲ  
 γυναῖκα

τήνδε νέων μὲν ἀνήνασθαι φιλότητα καὶ εὐνήν,  
 ἧ δ' ἐπιτερπέσθω πολιοκροτάφοισι γέρουσιν,  
 ὧν ὥρη μὲν ἀπήμβλυνται, θυμὸς δὲ μενοινᾷ.

- 31 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν φρήτρην καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἔνθα δὴ  
 ἐδαίνυντο ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὸν ἔστη, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι καιο-  
 μένου πυρὸς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, οἱ δὲ φασὶ τότε ἐκκαῦσαι  
 σφᾶς, ἐπειδὴ Ὅμηρος τὰ ἔπεα εἶπεν (Epiigr. 13).

ἀνδρὸς μὲν παῖδες στέφανος, πύργοι δὲ πόλῃος,  
 ἵπποι δ' αὖ πεδίου κόσμος, νῆες δὲ θαλάσσης,  
 χρήματα δ' αὔξει οἶκον· ἀτὰρ γεραροὶ βασιλῆες  
 ἦμενοι εἰν ἀγορῇ κόσμος λαοῖσιν<sup>53</sup> ὀρᾶσθαι·  
 αἰθομένου δὲ πυρὸς γεραρώτερος οἶκος ιδέσθαι.

εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ κατακλιθεὶς ἐδαίνυντο μετὰ τῶν φρα-  
 τῶν· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐτίμων καὶ ἐν θώματι εἶχον.

- καὶ τότε μὲν τὴν κοίτην αὐτοῦ ἐποίησατο Ὅμηρος· |  
 32 τῇ δὲ ἐσαύριον ἀποπορευόμενον ἰδόντες κεραμέες  
 τινές, κάμινον ἐγκαίοντες κεράμον λεπτοῦ, προσεκα-  
 λέσαντο αὐτόν, πεπυσμένοι ὅτι σοφὸς εἴη, καὶ ἐκέλευ-  
 ὦν σφιν αἰεῖσαι, φάμενοι δώσειν αὐτῷ τοῦ κεράμον  
 καὶ ὅ τι ἂν ἄλλο ἔχωσιν. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος αἰεῖδει αὐτοῖς  
 τὰ ἔπεα τάδε, ἃ καλεῖται Κάμινος (Epiigr. 14; Hes. fr.  
 302).

εἰ μὲν δώσετε μισθὸν ἀοιδῆς, ὦ κεραμῆες,

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Hear my prayer, Kourotrophos, and grant that this  
woman  
refuse the love and bed of younger men:  
let her fancy be taken by old men grey at the  
temples,  
whose vigor is blunted away, though their hearts still  
hanker.

When he reached the clan gathering and stood in the doorway of the building where they were dining, some say there was a fire burning within, but others that they only lit one after Homer spoke the verses (*Epigram* 13):

A man's crown is his sons, a city's its walls;  
horses adorn the plain, and ships the sea;  
property enhances the house, and proud kings  
as they sit in the gathering are a fine sight for the  
people;  
but a burning fire makes the house a prouder sight.

Then he went in and reclined and ate with the clansmen, and they honored him and admired him.

For that night Homer slept there. The next day, as he went away, some potters, who were firing a kiln full of fragile ware, saw him and called him over, as they had heard of his skills, and encouraged him to sing for them, promising to give him some of their wares and whatever else they had. Homer sang them these verses, which are called *The Kiln* (= *Epigram* 14):

If you are going to pay for my singing, O potters,

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<sup>53</sup> λαοῖσιν Ruhnkenius: τ' ἄλλοισι codd.

- δεῦρ' ἄγ' Ἀθηναίη, καὶ ὑπέροσχεθε χεῖρα  
 καμίνον,  
 εὖ δὲ μελανθεῖεν κότυλοι καὶ πάντα κάναστρα,  
 φρυχθῆναί τε καλῶς καὶ τιμῆς ὦνον ἀρέσθαι,  
 5 πολλὰ μὲν εἰν ἀγορῇ πωλεύμενα, πολλὰ δ'  
 ἀγνιαῖς,  
 πολλὰ δὲ κερδῆναι, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ ὥς σφας  
 ὀνῆσαι.<sup>54</sup>  
 ἦν δ' ἐπ' ἀναιδείην τρεφθέντες ψεύδε' ἄρησθε,  
 συγκαλέω δῆπαιτα καμίνων δηλητηήρας,  
 Σύντριβ' ὁμῶς Σμάραγόν τε καὶ Ἄσβετον ἥδὲ  
 Σαβάκτην  
 10 Ὀμόδαμόν θ', ὃς τῇδε τέχνῃ κακὰ πολλὰ  
 πορίζει·  
 †πεῖθε πυραΐθουσαν καὶ δώματα, σὺν δὲ  
 κάμιнос  
 πᾶσα κυκηθείη, κεραμέων μέγα κωκυσάντων.  
 ὥς γνάθος ἱππείη βρύκει, βρύκοι δὲ κάμιнос,  
 πάντ' ἔντοσθ' αὐτῆς κεραμῆϊα λεπτὰ ποιούσα.  
 15 δεῦρο καὶ Ἡελίου θύγατερ, πολυφάρμακε  
 Κίρκη·  
 ἄγρια φάρμακα βάλλε, κάκου δ' αὐτοὺς τε καὶ  
 ἔργα·  
 δεῦρο δὲ καὶ Χείρων ἀγέτω πολέας Κενταύρους,  
 οἳ θ' Ἡρακλῆος χεῖρας φύγον, οἳ τ' ἀπόλοντο·  
 τύπτοιεν τάδε ἔργα κακῶς, πίπτοι δὲ κάμιнос,  
 20 αὐτοὶ δ' οἰμῳζοντες ὀρώιατο ἔργα πονηρά·  
 γηθήσω δ' ὀρόων αὐτῶν κακοδαίμονα τέχνην.

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then come, Athena, and hold your hand over the kiln:  
may the cups turn a fine black, and all the dishes,  
and be thoroughly baked, and earn the price they are  
worth

as they sell in quantity in the market and the streets,  
and make good profits, and benefit me as it does  
them.

But if you turn to shamelessness and deceit,  
then I will invoke all of the kiln gremlins,  
Smasher and Crasher, Overblaze and Shakeapart  
and Underbake, who does this craft much harm.  
Invade(?) the fire-loggia and the rooms, may the  
whole kiln

be in turmoil, with the potters wailing loud.

As a horse's jaw munches, so may the kiln munch,  
grinding up small all of the pots inside.

Come also you daughter of the Sun, witch Circe:  
mix your wild drugs, and harm them and their work.

Let Chiron come, bringing his horde of Centaurs,  
both those who escaped Heracles' hands and those he  
killed:

may they hit these works ill, and the kiln collapse,  
and the men groaning watch the work of destruction.  
I shall enjoy seeing their craft so bedevilled.

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<sup>54</sup> ἡμᾶς. . . σφας ὀνῆσαι R. M. Cook: ἡμῖν . . . σφι νοῆσαι  
codd. (σφιν ἀείσαι Suda).

ὃς δέ χ' ὑπερκύψῃ, περὶ τούτου πᾶν τὸ  
 πρόσωπον  
 φλεχθείη, ὥς πάντες ἐπίστωντ' αἵσιμα ῥέξειν.

- 33 παραχειμάζων δὲ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, ταῖς νουμηνίαις  
 προσπορευόμενος πρὸς τὰς οἰκίας τὰς εὐδαιμονε-  
 στάτας ἐλάμβανέ τι αἰείδων τὰ ἔπεα τάδε, ἃ καλεῖται  
 Εἰρεσιώνη· ὠδήγουν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ συμπαρήσαν αἰεὶ  
 τῶν παίδων τινὲς τῶν ἐγχωρίων (Epiigr. 15).

δῶμα προσετραπόμεσθ' ἀνδρὸς μέγα  
 δυναμένοιο,  
 ὃς μέγα μὲν δύναται, μέγα δὲ βρέμει, ὄλβιος  
 αἰεὶ.  
 αὐταὶ ἀνακλίνεσθε, θύραι· Πλούτος γὰρ ἔσεισιν  
 πολλός, σὺν Πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ Εὐφροσύνη  
 τεθαλυῖα

- 5 Εἰρήνη τ' ἀγαθή. ὅσα δ' ἄγγεα, μεστὰ μὲν εἶη,  
 κυρβάσγῃ δ' αἰεὶ μάζης κατὰ καρδόπον  
 ἔρποι.<sup>55</sup>

νῦν μὲν κριθαίην εὐώπιδα σησαμόεσσαν

· · · · ·  
 τοῦ παιδὸς δὲ γυνὴ κατὰ δίφρακα βήσεται  
 ὕμνιν,

- ἡμίονοι δ' ἄξουσιν κραταίποδες ἐς τόδε δῶμα,  
 10 αὐτὴ δ' ἰστὸν ὑφαίνοι ἐπ' ἡλέκτρῳ βεβανῖα.

<sup>55</sup> Sic Wilamowitz: κυρβαίη δ' αἰεὶ κ. κ. ἔρποι μάζα fere  
 codd.

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And whoever peeps over the top, may all his face  
be scorched, to teach them all to behave decently.

He spent the winter in Samos, and at New Moon he would go to the most well-favored houses and receive something for singing these verses, which are called *Eiresione*,<sup>28</sup> and there were always some of the local children with him showing him the way (*Epigram* 15):

We take recourse to the house of a man of great  
means,  
who has great resources and makes a great noise,  
ever prosperous.  
Open of your own accord, doors, for Wealth will  
enter  
in plenty, and with Wealth, flourishing Cheer  
and welcome Peace. May the grain jars all be full,  
and the mound of dough ever top the kneading  
trough.  
Now [give us] beautiful barley meal laced with  
sesame

. . . . .  
Your son's bride will come to you in a car,  
hard-hoofed mules will bring her to this house:  
as she weaves at her loom may she stand on a floor of  
electrum.

<sup>28</sup> The term properly refers to a branch hung with fruits and cakes which boys brought to houses at Athens, and probably other places, in an autumn ritual; they were supposed to bring prosperity. See H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977), 76; Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge Mass., 1985), 101. On the present poem see the Introduction.



νεῦμαί τοι νεῦμαι ἐνιαύσιος ὥστε χελιδών·  
 ἔστηκ' ἐν προθύροις ψιλὴ πόδας· ἀλλὰ φέρ'  
 αἶψα.

〈ὕ〉πέρ σε τὼπόλλωνος, 〈ῶ〉 γύκναι τι δός.<sup>56</sup>  
 κεῖ μὲν τι δώσεις· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐχ ἑστήξομεν,

15 οὐ γὰρ συνοικήσונτες ἐνθάδ' ἦλθομεν.

ἦιδετο δὲ τάδε τὰ ἔπεα ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον  
 ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων, ὅτε ἀγείροιν ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ τοῦ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος.

- 34 ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος ἐπεχείρησε πλεῖν Ὅμηρος  
 ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ τῆς Σάμου. καὶ ἀναχθεὶς μετὰ τινων  
 ἐγχωρίων ἀπηνέχθη ἐς τὴν Ἴον· καὶ ὠρμίσθησαν οὐ  
 κατὰ πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀκτῆς. συνέβη δὲ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ  
 καταπλέοντι<sup>57</sup> ἄρξασθαι μαλακῶς ἔχειν· ἐκβὰς δὲ ἐκ  
 τοῦ πλοίου ἐκοιμάτο ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς ἀδυνάτως  
 ἔχων. πλείους δὲ ἡμέρας ὁρμούντων αὐτῶν δι' ἀπλο-  
 ῖην, καταβαίνοντες αἰεὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλιος  
 ἀπεσχόλαζον παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ, καὶ ἐν θούματι εἶχον  
 35 αὐτὸν ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ. | τῶν δὲ ναυτέων καὶ τῶν ἐκ  
 τῆς πόλιος τινῶν ἡμένων παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ κατέπλω-  
 σαν παῖδες ἀλιῆες <ἐς><sup>58</sup> τὸν τόπον, καὶ ἐκβάντες ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἀκατίου προσελθόντες αὐτοῖς τάδε εἶπον· “ἄγετε ῶ  
 ξένοι, ἐπακούσατε ἡμέων, ἂν ἄρα δύνησθε διαγνῶναι  
 ἄσος· ἂν ὕμιν εἴπωμεν.” καὶ τις τῶν παρεόντων ἐκέλευε  
 λέγειν, οἳ δὲ εἶπαν· “ἡμεῖς ἄσσα εἴλομεν κατελίπομεν,

<sup>56</sup> Sic Wilamowitz: πέρσαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος γυιᾶτιδος Suda, om. Vitae codd.

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I'll return, I'll return each year, like the swallow.  
I stand at the porch, feet stripped,<sup>29</sup> so bring  
something quickly.  
For Apollo's sake, lady, give us something!  
If you will, well and good: if not, we won't wait about,  
we didn't come here to make our homes with you.

These verses went on being recited in Samos for a long time by the children when they went collecting at the feast of Apollo.

At the start of spring Homer set out to sail to Athens from Samos. But after sailing out with a local crew, he was diverted to Ios. They did not moor at the town but on the open shore. It happened that as Homer was sailing in, he had begun to be poorly, and he disembarked and lay down on the beach, in a weak state. They stayed at anchor for several days because of unfavorable weather, and people from the town kept coming down to pass the time with Homer, and were impressed as they listened to him. As the sailors and some of the townspeople were sitting with Homer, some fisherboys sailed in at the place, and disembarking from their boat they came up and said, "Now, sirs, listen to us and see if you can understand what we tell you." Somebody encouraged them to go ahead, and they said, "What we have done is leave behind whatever we caught,

<sup>29</sup> This is uttered in the person of the swallow which the children carried round on their begging procession.

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<sup>57</sup> καταπλέοντι Wilamowitz: κατὰ πολὺ τι codd. (κατὰ τῇν ὁδὸν *Suda*).

<sup>58</sup> Add. Wilamowitz.

ἃ δὲ μὴ εἶλομεν φέρομεν.” οἱ δὲ φασι μέτρῳ εἰπεῖν αὐτούς·

ἄσσο' ἔλομεν λιπόμεσθα· ἃ δ' οὐχ ἔλομεν  
φερόμεσθα.

οὐ δυναμένων δὲ τῶν παρεόντων γινῶναι τὰ ῥηθέντα, διηγήσαντο οἱ παῖδες ὅτι ἀλιεύοντες οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, καθήμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐφθειρίζοντο, καὶ ὅσους μὲν ἔλαβον τῶν φθειρῶν κατέλιπον, ὅσους δὲ μὴ ἐδύναντο, ἐς οἴκους ἀπεφέροντο. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεγε τὰ ἔπεα τάδε (*Erigr.* 16).

τοίων γὰρ πατέρων ἐξ αἵματος ἐκγεγάασθε,  
οὔτε βαθυκλήρων οὔτ' ἄσπετα μῆλα νεμόντων.

- 36 ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀσθενείας ταύτης συνέβη τὸν Ὅμηρον τελευτῆσαι ἐν Ἰωί, οὐ παρὰ τὸ μὴ γινῶναι τὸ παρὰ τῶν παίδων ῥηθέν, ὥς οἴονταί τινες, ἀλλὰ τῇ μαλακίῃ. τελευτήσας δὲ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ Ἰωί αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἀκτῆς ὑπὸ τε τῶν συμπλόων καὶ τῶν πολιητέων ὅσοι ἐν διαλογῇ ἐγεγένητο αὐτῷ. καὶ τὸ ἐλεγείον τόδε ἐπεγράψαν Ἰῆται ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ, ὥς ἤδη ἢ τε ποίησις ἐξεπεπτώκεε καὶ ἐθανμάζετο ὑπὸ πάντων· οὐ γὰρ Ὅμηρον ἐστίν·

ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,  
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα, θεῖον Ὅμηρον.

- 37 ὅτι δὲ ἦν Αἰολεὺς Ὅμηρος καὶ οὔτε Ἰων οὔτε Δωριεύς, τοῖς τε εἰρημένοις δεδήλωταί μοι καὶ δὴ καὶ

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and what we didn't catch we're carrying." Or some say that they said in verse,

The ones we caught we left behind, the ones we  
missed we carry.

When those present were unable to understand the utterance, the boys explained that in their fishing they had not succeeded in catching anything, but they had sat on the ground and de-loused themselves, and all the lice they caught, they left there, but all the ones they failed to catch, they were taking home with them. On hearing this, Homer spoke these verses (*Epigram* 16):

That's because from such fathers' blood you are born,  
who had no rich allotments and grazed no countless  
flocks.

The result of this infirmity was that Homer died on Ios—not from his failure to interpret the boys' saying, as some suppose, but from his indisposition. Having died, he was buried on Ios, there on the shore, by his fellow sailors and those of the townspeople who had been in conversation with him. And the following elegy<sup>30</sup> was inscribed by the people of Ios at a much later date, after his poetry had spread abroad and become universally admired—it is not by Homer himself:

Here the earth has covered that sacred head,  
adorned of warrior heroes, the godly Homer.

That Homer was an Aeolian, not an Ionian or a Dorian, I have shown above, and he also provides evidence as

<sup>30</sup> Not in fact an elegiac couplet, but two hexameters.

τοῖσδε τεκμαίρεσθαι παρέχει· ἄνδρα ποιητὴν τηλικούτον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τῶν νομίμων τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ποιεῦντα ἐς τὴν ποίησιν ἦτοι τὰ κάλλιστα ἐξευρόντα ποιέειν ἢ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ πάτρια ἐόντα. ἤδη τοίνυν τὸ ἐνθένδε αὐτοῖ τῶν ἐπέων ἀκούοντες κρινεῖτε· ἱεροποιήν γὰρ ἢ τὴν κρατίστην ἐξευρὼν ἐποίησεν ἢ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πατρίδι προσήκουσαν. λέγει γὰρ ὦδε (Il. 1.459–461)·

αὔρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν  
μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατὰ τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν,  
δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν.

ἐν τούτοις ὑπὲρ ὀσφύος οὐδὲν εἴρηται ἢ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ χρέονται· μονώτατον γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ Αἰολικὸν ἔθνος οὐ καίει ὀσφύν. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὅτι Αἰολεὺς ὦν δικαίως τοῖς τούτων νόμοις ἐχρήτο (Il. 1.462–463)·

καίε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ' αἶθοπα οἶνον  
λείβε· νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα  
χερσίν.

Αἰολέες γὰρ μόνοι τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ πέντε ὀβελῶν ὀπτῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τριῶν. καὶ γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Αἰολεῖς τὰ πέντε πέμπε.

38 τὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς γενέσιος καὶ τελευτῆς καὶ βίου δεδήλωταί μοι. περὶ δὲ ἡλικίης τῆς Ὀμήρου ἐκ τῶνδ' ἂν τις ἐπισκεπτόμενος ἀκριβῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς λογίζοιτο. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἐς Ἴλιον στρατείας, ἣν Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ

## 2. PSEUDO-HERODOTUS

follows. A man who is such a great poet is likely, when he describes social customs in his poetry, either to seek out the best ones or his own ancestral ones. Well, now you will be able to judge for yourselves by listening to his verses. To describe sacrificial ritual, he either sought out the best form, or the one that belonged to his own homeland. He says:

They drew the heads back first, slaughtered and  
flayed them,  
cut out the thighbones and covered them with fat,  
making a double fold, and laid raw meat on top.

Nothing is said here about the sacrificial use of the loin. The reason is that the Aeolian race is unique among the Hellenes in not burning the loin. He shows again in the following verses that he was an Aeolian and quite properly made use of their customs:

The old man burned them on splinters, and poured  
on the bright wine,  
while beside him the young men held the five-  
pronged forks (*pempōbola*).

For it is only the Aeolians who roast the entrails on five prongs: the other Hellenes do it on three. And the Aeolians use *pempe* for "five" instead of *pente*.

I have now expounded the facts about his origins, his death, and his life. As to Homer's date, one can calculate it accurately and truly from the following considerations. From the expedition to Ilion which Agamemnon and

Μενέλαος ἤγειραν, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν καὶ τριήκοντα Λέσβος ὠικίσθη κατὰ πόλεις, πρότερον ἐοῦσα ἄπολις. μετὰ δὲ Λέσβον οἰκισθεῖσαν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον εἴκοσι Κύμη ἢ Αἰολιῶτις καὶ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη ὠικίσθη. μετὰ δὲ Κύμην ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον Σμύρνα ὑπὸ Κυμαίων κατωικίσθη· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γίνε-  
ται Ὅμηρος. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐγένετο, ἔτεά ἐστιν ἑξακόσια εἰκοσιδύο μέχρι τῆς Ξέρξεω διαβάσεως, ἣν στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διέβη ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου ῥηϊδίως ἐστὶν ἀριθμῆσαι τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἐθέλοντι ζητεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν Ἀθηνησι-  
τῶν δὲ Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερον γεγένηται Ὅμηρος ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα ὀκτώ.

## 2. PSEUDO-HERODOTUS

Menelaus organized it was a hundred and thirty years to the settlement of Lesbos by cities, it having been previously without city structure. After the settlement of Lesbos it was twenty years to the foundation of the Cyme known as Aeolian or Phrikonian. Eighteen years after Cyme, Smyrna was founded by the Cymaeans, and that was when Homer was born. From Homer's birth it is six hundred and twenty-two years to Xerxes' crossing, when on his expedition against the Hellenes he bridged the Hellespont and crossed over from Asia to Europe. From that point it is easily possible for anyone interested to reckon the time span by using the list of archons at Athens. And Homer was born a hundred and sixty-eight years after the Trojan War.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> According to the author's reckoning Troy fell in 1270 BC, Lesbos was settled in 1140, Cyme was founded in 1120, Smyrna in 1102, and Homer was born in the same year. The genuine Herodotus, on the other hand, thought that Homer and Hesiod lived no more than four hundred years before his own time (2.53.2).



## ΠΛΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ 1.1-5

- 1    Περισσὸν μὲν ἴσως δόξειέ τισι πολυπραγμονεῖν περὶ Ὅμηρου, ποίων τε ἦν γονέων καὶ πόθεν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸς ἠξίωσεν εἰπεῖν τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς ἔσχεν ὥς μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπιμνησθῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥς πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων παιδεύεσθαι χρήσιμος ἢ πολυπειρία, πειρασώμεθα εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἰστόρηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ.
- 2    Ἐφορος μὲν οὖν ὁ Κυμαῖος ἐν συντάγματι τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἐπιχωρίῳ (70 F 1) Κυμαῖον αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι πειρώμενός φησιν ὅτι Ἀπελλῆς καὶ Μαίων καὶ Δῖος ἀδελφοί, Κυμαῖοι τὸ γένος· ὧν Δῖος μὲν διὰ χρέα μετώκησεν εἰς Ἀσκρην κώμην τῆς Βοιωτίας, κακεῖ γήμας Πυκιμήδην ἐγέννησεν Ἡσίοδον· Ἀπελλῆς δὲ τελευτήσας ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Κύμη κατέλιπε θυγατέρα Κριθηΐδα τοῦνομα, προστησάμενος αὐτῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μαίονα· ὃς διακορεύσας τὴν προειρημένην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι δείσας κατάγνωσιν, ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν πρὸς γάμον Φημίῳ Σμυρναίῳ, διδασκάλῳ γραμμάτων. φοιτῶσα δὲ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς πλύνους, οἳ ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ Μέλῃτι,

### 3. (PSEUDO-)PLUTARCH ON HOMER (I)

It may perhaps seem to some people superfluous to bother about Homer's parentage and place of origin, seeing that he himself did not see fit to speak of his personal details but was so reserved as not even to mention his name. But as a broad survey is useful as an introduction for those in the early stages of education, let us try to state what the ancients have recorded about him.

Ephorus of Cyme in the work entitled *Local History*, attempting to show that he was a Cymaeian, says that Apelles, Maion, and Dios were brothers of Cymaeian stock. Dios because of debts migrated to Ascra, a village in Boeotia, and there he married Pykimedé and fathered Hesiod. Apelles died in his native Cyme and left a daughter named Critheis, having made his brother Maion her guardian: but the latter violated her, and fearing his fellow citizens' condemnation in the matter, gave her in marriage to Phemius, a Smyrnaean teacher of letters. She used to go by herself to the washing places beside the Meles, and

ἀπεκύησε τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μελησιγένης ἐκλήθη. μετωνομάσθη δὲ Ὅμηρος, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπηρώθη· οὕτω δὲ ἐκάλουν οἱ τε Κυμαῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες τοὺς τὰς ὄψεις πεπηρωμένους, παρὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι τῶν ὁμηρεούντων, ὃ ἐστὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἐφορος.

- 3 Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ ποιητικῆς (fr. 76 Rose) ἐν Ἴωι φησὶ τῇ νήσῳ, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Νηλεὺς ὁ Κόδρου τῆς Ἴωνικῆς ἀποικίας ἡγείτο, κόρην τινα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενομένην ὑπὸ τινος δαίμονος τῶν συγχορευτῶν ταῖς Μούσαις ἐγκύμονα, αἰδεσθεῖσαν τὸ συμβὰν διὰ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς γαστρος, ἐλθεῖν εἰς τι χωρίον καλούμενον Αἶγιναν· εἰς ὃ καταδραμόντας ληιστὰς ἀνδραποδίσαι τὴν προειρημένην καὶ ἀγαγόντας εἰς Σμύρναν, οὔσαν ὑπὸ Λυδοῖς τότε, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Λυδῶν ὄντι φίλῳ τοῦνομα Μαίονι χαρίσασθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀγαπήσαντα τὴν κόρην διὰ τὸ κάλλος γῆμαι· ἦν διατρίβουσαν παρὰ τῷ Μέλῃτι, συσχεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς ὠδίνος ἔτυχεν ἀποκυῆσαι τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ. ὃν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Μαίων ὡς ἴδιον ἔτρεφε, τῆς Κριθηΐδος μετὰ τὴν κύησιν εὐθέως τελευτησάσης· χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτελεύτησε. τῶν δὲ Λυδῶν καταπονουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰολέων καὶ κρινάντων καταλιπεῖν τὴν Σμύρναν, κηρυξάντων τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀκολουθεῖν ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως, ἔτι νήπιος ὢν Ὅμηρος ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς βούλεσθαι ὁμηρεῖν· ὅθεν ἀντὶ Μελησιγένους Ὅμηρος προσηγορεύθη.

- 4 γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ἡλικίαι καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ

### 3. PSEUDO-PLUTARCH I

there she gave birth to Homer at the river. Because of this he was called Melesigenes ("Meles-born"). His name was changed to Homer after he lost his sight, this being what the Cymaeans and Ionians called those with an ocular disability, because they need *homēreuontes*, that is, guides. So much for Ephorus.

Aristotle in Book 3 of his work *On Poets* says that on the island of Ios, at the time when Neleus the son of Codrus was leading the Ionian migration, a local girl was made pregnant by one of the sprites who dance with the Muses; ashamed of what had happened on account of her swelling belly, she went to a place called Aegina. Some freebooters came there on a raid and enslaved her and took her to Smyrna, which was at that time under the Lydians, and they gave her to the king of the Lydians, who was a friend of theirs, Maion by name. He grew warm towards the girl because of her beauty, and married her. As she was lingering beside the Meles, it happened that her contractions started, and she gave birth to Homer at the river. Maion accepted him and brought him up as his own, Critheis having died straight after the birth. But before much more time had gone by, he died too. When the Lydians were under pressure from the Aeolians, and decided to abandon Smyrna, the authorities announced that anyone who wished to accompany them should leave the city, and Homer, still an infant, said that he wanted to *homērein* (accompany): hence he was named Homer instead of Melesigenes.

When he reached manhood, having by now acquired

κεκτημένος ἤδη ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεόν, τίνων τε εἴη γονέων καὶ πόθεν. ὃ δὲ ἀνείλεν οὕτως·

ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος, μητρὸς πατρίς, ἣ σε θανόντα δέξεται· ἀλλὰ νέων ἀνδρῶν αἰνιγμα φύλαξαι.

φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερος χρησμὸς τοιοῦτος·

ὄλβιε καὶ δύσδαιμον—ἔφυσ γὰρ ἐπ’

ἀμφοτέροισιν—

πατρίδα δίζηαι· μητρὶς δέ τοι, οὐ πατρίς ἐστιν,  
{μητρόπολις ἐν νήσῳ ὑπὸ Κρήτης εὐρείης}<sup>59</sup>

Μίνωος γαίης οὔτε σχεδὸν οὔτ’ ἀποτηλοῦ.

ἐν τῇ σοὶ μοῖρ’ ἐστὶ τελευτῆσαι βιότοιο,

εὖτ’ ἂν ἀπὸ γλώσσης παίδων μὴ γνῶις

ἐπακούσας

δυσξύνετον σκολιοῖσι λόγοις εἰρημένον ὕμνον.

δοιὰς γὰρ ζωῆς μοίρας λάχες· ἦν μὲν ἀμαυράν

ἡελίων δισσων, ἦν δ’ ἀθανάτοις ισόμοιρον

ζῶντί τε καὶ φθιμένῳ· φθίμενος δ’ ἐπὶ<sup>60</sup> πολλὸν

ἀγῆρως.

μετ’ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον πλέων ἐς Θήβας ἐπὶ τὰ Κρόνια (ἀγὼν δὲ οὗτος ἄγεται παρ’ αὐτοῖς μουσικός) ἦλθεν εἰς Ἴον· ἔνθα ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεζόμενος ἐθεάσατο ἀλιεῖς προσπλέοντας, ὧν ἐπύθετο εἴ τι ἔχοιεν. οἱ δέ, ἐπὶ τῷ θηρᾶσαι μὲν μηδὲν φθειρίσασθαι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῆς θήρας, οὕτως ἀπεκρίναντο·

<sup>59</sup> Versum om. Oenomaus ap. Eus. *Praep. evang.* 5.33.15.

### 3. PSEUDO-PLUTARCH I

a reputation for poetry, he enquired of the god who his parents were, and where he was from. He replied thus:

There is an island Ios, your mother's home, which at  
your death  
will receive you. Only beware the young men's riddle.

There is also another oracle current, like this:

Blessed and ill-starred one—for you were born to  
both—  
you seek your fatherland, but it's your mother's land,  
not your father's,  
not too close to Minos' country,<sup>32</sup> nor yet too far  
away.

There it is your destiny to die,  
when from the tongue of boys you hear, perplexed,  
a song hard to fathom, uttered in devious words.  
For you have two allotted lives: one that is dimmed  
for your twin suns,<sup>33</sup> the other matching the  
immortals'—  
one for life, one for death; and in death you shall not  
age.

Not long afterwards, when he was sailing to Thebes for the Kronia, which is a musical contest that they hold there, he arrived at Ios. There, while sitting on a rock, he observed some fishers sailing up, and he asked them if they had got anything. They (having caught nothing but for lack of a catch de-loused themselves) answered:

<sup>32</sup> Crete.

<sup>33</sup> His eyes.

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<sup>60</sup> ἐπὶ West: ἔτι codd.

ὅσσ' ἔλομεν λιπόμεσθ', ὅσσ' οὐχ ἔλομεν  
φερόμεσθα,

αἰνισσύμενοι ὥς ἄρα οὓς μὲν ἔλαβον τῶν φθειρῶν  
ἀποκτείναντες κατέλιπον, οὓς δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ  
ἐσθῇτι φέροισιν. ὅπερ οὐ δυνηθεὶς συμβαλεῖν Ὅμηρος  
διὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἐτελεύτησε. θάψαντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ  
Ἰῆται μεγαλοπρεπῶς, τοιόνδε ἐπέγραψαν αὐτοῦ τῷ  
τάφῳ·

ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει,  
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θεῖον Ὅμηρον.

εἰσὶ μέντοι οἱ καὶ Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύει  
πειρῶνται, μεγίστῳ τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενοι πρὸς ἀπό-  
δειξιν τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγεγραμμένῳ ἐλε-  
γείῳ· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·

υἱὲ Μέλητος Ὅμηρε, σὺ γὰρ κλέος Ἑλλάδι  
πάσῃ  
καὶ Κολοφῶνι πάτρῃ θῆκας ἐς αἶδιον·  
καὶ τάσδ' ἀντιθέῳ ψυχῇ γεννήσας κούρας  
δισσὰς ἐκ στηθέων, γραψάμενος σελίδας·  
ὑμνεῖ δ' ἡ μὲν νόστον Ὀδυσσῆος πολὺπλαγκτον,  
ἡ δὲ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν Δαρδανιδῶν πόλεμον.

ἄξιον δὲ μῆδὲ τὸ ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ ἐπιγραμ-  
ματοποιοῦ γραφὲν ἐπίγραμμα παραλιπεῖν, ἔχον οὐκ  
ἀσέμνως· ἔχει δ' οὕτως (Antip. Thess. Epigr. 72 G.—P.).

### 3. PSEUDO-PLUTARCH I

All we caught we left behind, all that we missed we  
carry.

The riddle meant that the lice they had caught they had killed and left behind, but the ones they had not caught they were carrying in their clothing. Unable to work this out, Homer became depressed and died. The people of Ios gave him a magnificent funeral, and inscribed this on his tomb:

Here the earth conceals that sacred head,  
adorner of warrior heroes, the godly Homer.

There are some, however, who endeavor to show that he was a Colophonian, taking as their main piece of evidence the elegiacs inscribed on his statue, which run as follows:

Son of Meles, Homer, you gave glory to all Hellas  
and to your homeland Colophon for ever;  
and from your breast with your godlike soul you  
fathered  
these two maidens, by writing out your texts.  
One of them sings Odysseus' far-roaming return,  
the other the Dardanids' war at Ilion.<sup>34</sup>

Nor does the epigram written by the epigrammatist Antipater deserve to be passed over, as it is not unimpressive. It runs as follows:

<sup>34</sup> The verses indicate a Hellenistic statuary group in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were represented as female figures and daughters of Homer. So they were on Archelaus' famous relief (the Apotheosis of Homer) and one or two other known monuments; see *LIMC* iv(1).647–648.



οἱ μὲν σευ Κολοφῶνα τιθηνήτειραν, Ὅμηρε,  
οἱ δὲ καλὰν Σμύρναν, οἱ δ' ἐνέπουσι Χίον,  
οἱ δ' Ἴον, οἱ δ' ἐβόασαν εὐκλαρον Σαλαμίνα,  
οἱ δέ νυ τὰν Λαπιθᾶν ματέρα Θεσσαλίαν,  
ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλο μέλαθρον ἀνίαχον· εἰ δέ με  
Φοῖβον

χρὴ λέξαι πινυτὰν ἀμφαδὰ μαντοσύναν,  
πάτρα τοι τελέθει μέγας οὐρανός, ἐκ δὲ γυναικός  
οὐ θνατᾶς, ματρὸς δ' ἔπλεο Καλλιόπας.

- 5      γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τοῖς χρόνοις οἱ μὲν φασι κατὰ  
τὸν Τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον, οὗ καὶ αὐτόπτην γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ  
μετὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τοῦ πολέμου· ἄλλοι δὲ μετὰ πεντή-  
κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἔγραψε δὲ ποιήματα δύο, Ἰλιάδα  
καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν· ὥς δέ τινες, οὐκ ἀληθῶς λέγοντες,  
γυμνασίας καὶ παιδιᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ Βατραχομνομαχίαν  
προσθεῖς καὶ Μαργίτην.

[Chapters 6-8 omitted.]

### 3. PSEUDO-PLUTARCH I

Some say Colophon was your nurse, Homer,  
and some fair Smyrna, and others Chios,  
some Ios, some proclaim it prosperous Salamis,  
and some again the Lapiths' mother, Thessaly,  
and others other homesteads. But if I should  
openly broadcast Phoibos' wise oracle,  
the broad sky is your homeland, for you were born  
of no mortal mother, but of Calliope.

As to his date, some say he lived at the time of the Trojan War, and saw it personally; others put him a hundred years after the war, and other a hundred and fifty years after. He wrote two poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; and as some say—incorrectly—he added the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* and *Margites* by way of exercise and light relief.

## ΠΛΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ 2.1-4

- 1 Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιητὴν, χρόνῳ μὲν τῶν πλείστων  
δυνάμει δὲ πάντων πρῶτον γενόμενον, εἰκότως ἀναγι-  
νώσκομεν πρῶτον, ὠφελούμενοι τὰ μέγιστα εἰς τε τὴν  
φωνὴν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων  
πολυπειρίαν. λέγωμεν δὲ περὶ τῆς τούτου ποιήσεως,  
πρότερον μνησθέντες διὰ βραχέων τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ.
- 2 Ὅμηρον τοίνυν Πίνδαρος μὲν (fr. 264 Sn.) ἔφη Χίον  
τε καὶ Σμυρναῖον γενέσθαι, Σιμωνίδης δὲ (eleg. 19.1)  
Χίον, Ἀντιμαχος δὲ (fr. 130 Wyss) καὶ Νίκανδρος (fr. 14  
Schn.) Κολοφώνιον, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος (fr.  
76 Rose) Ἰήτην, Ἐφορος δὲ ὁ ἱστορικὸς (70 F 1) Κυ-  
μαῖον. οὐκ ὥκνησαν δέ τινες καὶ Σαλαμίνιον αὐτὸν  
εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ Κύπρου, τινὲς δ' Ἀργεῖον, Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ  
καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Θρᾷξ Ἀθηναῖον. υἱὸς δὲ ὑπ' ἐνίων  
λέγεται Μαίονος καὶ Κριθΐδος, ὑπὸ δέ τινων Μέλη-  
τος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.
- 3 ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ διαπορεῖται, οὕτω  
καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν χρόνων καθ' οὓς ἐγένετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν  
περὶ Ἀρίσταρχόν φασιν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῶν  
Ἰώνων ἀποικίαν, ἥτις ὕστερεί τῆς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν

#### 4. (PSEUDO-)PLUTARCH ON HOMER (II)

The poet Homer, as he surpasses most others in antiquity and all others in ability, we naturally read first, with immense benefit to our eloquence, intellect, and knowledge of affairs. Let us speak about his poetry, after first briefly mentioning his origins.

Pindar called Homer both a Chian and a Smyrnaean, Simonides called him a Chian, Antimachus and Nicander a Colophonian, the philosopher Aristotle a native of Ios, and the historian Ephorus a Cymaeon. Some have not shrunk even from making him a Salaminian from Cyprus, some have made him an Argive, while Aristarchus and Dionysius Thrax make him an Athenian. He is said by some to have been the son of Maion and Critheis, but by others of the river Meles.

Just as his origins are a matter of dispute, so is his date. The school of Aristarchus puts him at the time of the Ionian migration, which is sixty years after the return of

καθόδου ἔτεσιν ἐξήκοντα· τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας  
λείπεται τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἔτεσιν ὀγδοήκοντα. οἱ δὲ περὶ  
Κράτητα καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου λέγουσιν  
αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, ὡς οὐδὲ ὅλα ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχειν  
τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις πεπίστευται  
μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν <τῆς Ἰώνων ἀποικίας, τινὲς δὲ καὶ  
μετὰ τετρακόσια><sup>61</sup> τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γεγονέναι, οὐ πολὺ  
πρὸ τῆς θέσεως τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ κατὰ Ὀλυμ-  
πιάδας χρόνος ἀριθμεῖται.

- 4 εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποιήσεις δύο, Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια,  
διηρημένῃ ἑκατέρα εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν στοιχείων,  
οὐχ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματι-  
κῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον.

<sup>61</sup> <τῆς Ἰώνων ἀποικίας> add. Wolff, cetera West.

#### 4. PSEUDO-PLUTARCH II

the Heraclids, the Heraclid affair falling eighty years after the Trojan War. But Crates' school puts him even before the return of the Heraclids, so that he would have been not a full eighty years removed from the Trojan War. Most authorities, however, believe that he lived a hundred years after the <Ionian migration, while some even put him four hundred years after the> Trojan War,<sup>35</sup> not long before the establishment of the Olympic Games, from which the dating by Olympiads is reckoned.

There are two poems by him, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, each divided into the number of the letters of the alphabet, not by the poet himself but by the grammarians associated with Aristarchus.

<sup>35</sup> The transmitted text is impossible. My insertion is based on the similar passage in Tatian, *Oration to the Greeks* 31 (p. 32.8 Schwartz).

## ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΜΑΘΙΑΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΤΟ Α

ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΧΡΟΝΟΙ, ΒΙΟΣ, ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ,  
ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΩΝ

- 1 Ἐπῶν ποιηταὶ γεγόνασι πολλοί· τούτων δ' εἰσὶ κρά-  
τιστοι Ὅμηρος, Ἡσίοδος, Πείσανδρος, Πανύασσις,  
Ἀντίμαχος.
- 2 Ὅμηρος μὲν οὖν τίνων γονέων ἢ ποίας ἐγένετο  
πατρίδος, οὐ ράϊδιον ἀποφήνασθαι· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτός τι  
λελάληκεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντες συμ-  
πεφωνήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ῥητῶς ἐμφαίνειν περὶ  
τούτων τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας  
ἕκαστος οἷς ἡβούλετο ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν  
Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσαν, οἱ δὲ Χίον, οἱ δὲ  
Σμυρναῖον, οἱ δὲ Ἰήτην, ἄλλοι δὲ Κυμαῖον, καὶ καθό-  
λου πᾶσα πόλις ἀντιποιεῖται τάνδρός· ὅθεν εἰκότως ἂν  
κοσμοπολίτης λέγοιτο.
- 3 οἱ μὲν οὖν Σμυρναῖον αὐτὸν ἀποφαινόμενοι Μαί-  
ονος μὲν πατρὸς λέγουσιν εἶναι, γεννηθῆναι δὲ ἐπὶ  
Μέλητος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅθεν καὶ Μελησιγένη ὀνο-  
μασθῆναι· δοθέντα δὲ Χίοις εἰς ὁμηρεῖαν Ὅμηρον

## 5. PROCLUS. CHRESTOMATHY I

### HOMER'S DATE, LIFE, CHARACTER, CATALOGUE OF POEMS

There have been many hexameter poets; the chief among them are Homer, Hesiod, Pisander, Panyassis, and Antimachus.

As to Homer, it is not easy to state from what parents or place he sprang, for he has not said anything himself, and there is no agreement among those who have discussed him: because his poetry gives no express indication on these questions, each writer has indulged his inclinations with great freedom. Hence some have proclaimed him a Colophonian, some a Chian, some a Smyrnaean, some a man of Ios, others a Cymaeon, and in general every city claims the man; so he might reasonably be called a citizen of the world.

Those who make him a Smyrnaean say that his father was Maion, and that he was born at the river Meles, and accordingly named Melesigenes, but after being given to the Chians as a hostage (*homēron*) he was called Homer.



κληθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀμμάτων πηρώσεως  
τούτου τυχεῖν αὐτόν φασι τοῦ ὀνόματος· τοὺς γὰρ  
τυφλοὺς ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ὀμήρους καλεῖσθαι.

- 4 Ἑλλάνικος δὲ (fr. 5 Fowler) καὶ Δαμάστης (fr. 11 F.)  
καὶ Φερεκύδης (fr. 167 F.) εἰς Ὀρφέα τὸ γένος ἀνά-  
γουσιν αὐτοῦ. Μαίονα γάρ φασι τὸν Ὀμήρου πατέρα  
καὶ Δῖον τὸν Ἡσιόδου γενέσθαι Ἀπέλλιδος τοῦ Μελα-  
νώπου τοῦ Ἐπιφράδεος τοῦ Χαριφήμον τοῦ Φιλοτέρ-  
πεος τοῦ Ἰδμονίδα τοῦ Εὐκλέους τοῦ Δωρίωνος τοῦ  
Ὀρφέως. Γοργίας δὲ ὁ Λεοντίνος (82 B 25 D.-K.) εἰς  
Μουσαῖον αὐτὸν ἀνάγει.

- 5 περὶ δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ λόγος τις φέρεται  
τοιούτος. ἀνελεῖν φασιν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν χρωμένωι περὶ  
ἀσφαλείας τάδε·

ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος μητρὸς πατρίς, ἣ σε θανόντα  
δέξεται· ἀλλὰ νέων ἀνδρῶν αἶνιγμα φύλαξαι.

λέγουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἴον πλεύσαντα διατρῦφαι μὲν  
παρὰ Κρεωφύλῳ, γράψαντα δὲ Οἰχαλίας ἄλῳσιν  
τούτῳι χαρίσασθαι· ἥτις νῦν ὥς Κρεωφύλου περι-  
φέρεται. καθεζόμενον δὲ ἐπὶ τινος ἀκτῆς θεασάμενον  
ἀλιεῖς προσειπεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνακρῖναι τοῖσδε τοῖς  
ἔπεσιν·

ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας θηρήτορες, ἦ ῥ' ἔχομέν τι;  
ὑποτυχόντα δὲ αὐτῶν ἕνα εἰπεῖν·

## 5. PROCLUS

Others say he got this name from losing his sight, the blind being called by the Aeolians *homēroi*.

Hellanicus, Damastes, and Pherecydes trace his lineage back to Orpheus. They say that Homer's father Maion and Hesiod's father Dios were the sons of Apellis, son of Melanopus, son of Epiphrades, son of Chariphemus, son of Philoterpes, son of Idmonides, son of Eucles, son of Dorion, son of Orpheus. And Gorgias of Leontini takes him back to Musaeus.

Concerning his death there is a story current that goes like this. They say that when he consulted the god about keeping safe, his response was:

There is an island Ios, your mother's home, which at  
your death  
will receive you. Only beware the young men's riddle.

So they say he sailed to Ios and spent time with Creophylus, and when he wrote the *Capture of Oichalia* he gave it to him, and it is now current under Creophylus' name. And as he sat on a certain shore and observed some fishers, he addressed them and questioned them in this verse:

O huntsmen from Arcadia, have we caught anything?

And one of them replied:

οὓς ἔλομεν λιπόμεσθ', οὓς δ' οὐχ ἔλομεν  
φερόμεσθα.

οὐκ ἐπιβάλλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ διελέσθαι τὸ αἴνιγμα, ὅτι  
ἐπὶ ἰχθυίαν καταβάντες ἀφήμαρτον, φθειρισάμενοι δὲ  
ὅσους μὲν ἔλαβον τῶν φθειρῶν ἀποκτείναντες ἀπολεί-  
πουσιν, ὅσοι δὲ αὐτοὺς διέφυγον, τούτους ἀποκομί-  
ζουσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἐκείνον ἀθυμήσαντα σύννου ἀπιέναι,  
τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἔννοιαν λαμβάνοντα, καὶ οὕτως ὀλι-  
σθόντα περιπταῖσαι λίθωι, καὶ τριταῖον τελευτῆσαι.  
ἀλλὰ δὴ ταῦτα μὲν πολλῆς ἔχεται ζητήσεως, ἵνα δὲ  
μηδὲ τούτων ἄπειρος ὑπάρχῃς, διὰ τοῦτο εἰς ταῦτα  
κεχώρηκα.

- 6 τυφλὸν δὲ ὅσοι τοῦτον ἀπεφήναντο, αὐτοί μοι δο-  
κοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν πεπηρῶσθαι· τοσαῦτα γὰρ κατεῖ-  
δεν ἄνθρωπος ὅσα οὐδεὶς πώποτε. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες  
ἀνεψιὸν αὐτὸν Ἡσιόδου παρέδοσαν, ἀτριβεῖς ὄντες  
ποιήσεως· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχουσι τοῦ γένει προσή-  
κειν ὅσον ἢ ποίησις διέστηκεν αὐτῶν. ἄλλως δὲ οὐδὲ  
τοῖς χρόνοις συνεπέβαλον ἀλλήλοις, ἄθλιοι δὲ οἱ τὸ  
ἀνάθημα<sup>62</sup> πλάσαντες τοῦτο·

Ἡσίοδος Μούσαις Ἑλικωνίσι τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν,  
ῥῆμνω νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον Ὀμηρον.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπλανήθησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιοδείων Ἡμερῶν·  
ἕτερον γάρ τι σημαίνει.

<sup>62</sup> ἀνάθημα Wilamowitz: αἴνιγμα codd.

## 5. PROCLUS

The ones we caught we left behind, the ones we missed we carry.

When he did not apprehend the solution of the riddle, that they had had no success in their fishing expedition but had de-loused themselves, and the lice they had caught they had killed and left behind, while the ones that escaped them they carried away, he became depressed, and went away preoccupied, recalling the oracle, and in this condition he slipped and fell on a stone, and died two days later. Well, these questions depend on extensive research, but I have gone into them so that even in this you are not without some knowledge.

Those who have stated that he was blind seem to me to be mentally blind themselves, for he saw more clearly than any man ever. And there are some who have written that he was the cousin of Hesiod: they are no experts in poetry, for Homer and Hesiod are as far from being related by birth as their poetry is different. In any case, they were not even contemporaries, and those who made up this dedication were pitiful wretches:

Hesiod dedicated this to the Muses of Helicon,  
having defeated in song at Chalcis the godly Homer.

They were led astray by Hesiod's *Days*—the passage means something else.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The reference is to *Works and Days* 650–660, where Hesiod records his victory in a poetic contest at Chalcis and his dedication to the Muses of the tripod that he won as a prize.

- 7 τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχόν φασι γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἀποικίαν, ἣτις ὑστερεῖ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου ἔτεσιν ἐξήκοντα· τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας λείπεται τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἔτεσιν ὀγδοήκοντα. οἱ δὲ περὶ Κράττητα ἀνάγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς Τρωϊκοὺς χρόνους.
- 8 φαίνεται δὲ γηραιὸς ἐκλελοιπὼς τὸν βίον· ἡ γὰρ ἀννυτέρβλητος ἀκρίβεια τῶν πραγμάτων προβεβηκυῖαν ἡλικίαν παρίστησι. πολλὰ δὲ ἐπεληλυθὼς μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκ τῆς πολυπειρίας τῶν τόπων εὐρίσκεται. τούτῳ δὲ προσυπονοητέον καὶ πλούτου πολλὴν περιουσίαν γενέσθαι· αἱ γὰρ μακραὶ ἀποδημίαι πολλῶν δέονται ἀναλωμάτων, καὶ ταῦτα κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους οὔτε πάντων πλεομένων ἀκινδύνως οὔτε ἐπιμισγομένων ἀλλήλοις πῶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ῥαιδίως.
- 9 γέγραφε δὲ ποιήσεις δύο, Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν, ἣν Ξένων καὶ Ἑλλάνικος ἀφαιροῦνται αὐτοῦ. οἱ μέντοι γε ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὸν Κύκλον ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς αὐτόν· προστιθέασι δέ τινες αὐτῷ καὶ παίγνιά τινα· Μαργίτην, Βατραχομαχίαν {ἢ Μυομαχίαν}, Ἐπτάπεκτον<sup>63</sup> αἶγα, Κέρκωπας, εἰς ξένους.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Ἐπτάπεκτον Toup: ἔν τε πακτίον fere codd.

<sup>64</sup> εἰς ξένους West: κενούς codd.: Καμίνους Bergk: Κεραμέας Bossi.

## 5. PROCLUS

As to his date, Aristarchus' school puts him at the time of the Ionian migration, which is sixty years after the return of the Heraclids, the Heraclid affair falling eighty years after the Trojan War. But Crates' school takes him back to the Trojan era.

He was evidently old when he passed away, for his unsurpassed accuracy in material detail indicates an advanced age. That he travelled to many parts of the world can be inferred from his wide knowledge of places. We must also suppose a great abundance of wealth to have been at his disposal, for long journeys call for much expenditure, especially in those times when it was not the case that all seas could be safely sailed or that people could easily visit each other.

He is the author of two poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (which latter Xenon and Hellanicus deny him). But the ancients also ascribe the Cycle to him, and some people add certain fun poems too: the *Margites*, the *Battle of Frogs*, the *Seven-times-shorn Goat*, the *Cercopes*, and *On Outsiders*.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> The first of the "Epigrams" (pseudo-Herodotus' *Life*, 9) is found under this inept title in a number of manuscripts at the end of the *Hymns*.

## HESYCHIUS MILESIUS

(Suda o 251, iii.524.27 Adler)

- 1 Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητής, Μέλητος τοῦ ἐν Σμύρνηι ποταμοῦ καὶ Κριθήϊδος νύμφης, ὥς φησι Καστρίκιος ὁ Νικαεύς· ὥς δὲ ἄλλοι, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Καλλιόπης τῆς Μούσης· ὥς δὲ Χάραξ ὁ ἱστορικὸς (FGrHist 103 F 62), Μαίονος {ἢ Μητίου} καὶ Εὐμήτιδος μητρός· κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους Τηλεμάχου τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Πολυκάστης τῆς Νέστορος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ τοῦ γένους τάξις κατὰ τὸν ἱστορικὸν Χάρακα αὕτη· Αἰθούσης Θράισσης Λίνος, τοῦ δὲ Πίερος, τοῦ δὲ Οἶαγρος, τοῦ δὲ Ὀρφεύς, τοῦ δὲ Δρῆς, τοῦ δὲ Εὐκλέης, τοῦ δὲ Ἰδμονίδης, τοῦ δὲ Φιλοτέρπης, τοῦ δὲ Εὐφημος, τοῦ δὲ Ἐπιφράδης, τοῦ δὲ Μελάνωπος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς, τοῦ δὲ Μαίων, ὃς ἦλθεν ἅμα ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν ἐν Σμύρνηι καὶ γήμας Εὐμητιν τὴν Εὐέπους τοῦ Μνησιγένης<sup>65</sup> ἐποίησεν Ὅμηρον.
- 2 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἀμφίβολος διὰ τὸ ἀπιστηθῆναι ὅλως εἶναι θνητὸν τῷ μεγέθει τῆς φύσεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔφασαν γενέσθαι Σμυρναῖον, οἱ δὲ Χίον, οἱ δὲ Κολοφώνιον, οἱ δὲ Ἰήτην, οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Τροίας ἀπὸ χωρίου Κεγχρεῶν, οἱ δὲ

## 6. FROM HESYCHIUS OF MILETUS

### INDEX OF FAMOUS AUTHORS

Homer, the poet, son of Meles, the river of Smyrna, and of a nymph Critheis, as Castricius of Nicaea says; or as others say, of Apollo and the Muse Calliope; or as the historian Charax says, of Maion and Eumetis; or according to others, of Odysseus' son Telemachus and Nestor's daughter Polycaste. The sequence of his lineage according to the historian Charax is as follows: from a Thracian woman Aithousa Linus was born, from him Pierus, from him Oeagrus, from him Orpheus, from him Dres, from him Eucles, from him Idmonides, from him Philoterpes, from him Euphemus, from him Epiphrades, from him Melanopus, from him Apelles, from him Maion, who came to Smyrna at the same time as the Amazons, married Eumetis the daughter of Euepes, son of Mnesigenes, and fathered Homer.

He is likewise indeterminate in respect of his homeland, as his mighty talent made it seem incredible that he was mortal at all. For some said he was born a Smyrnaean, some a Chian, some a Colophonian, some a man of Ios, some a Cymaean, some from a place Kenchreai in the

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<sup>65</sup> *Μελησιγένης* Bernhardt.



Λυδόν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιον, οἱ δὲ Ἰθακήσιον, οἱ δὲ Κύπριον, οἱ δὲ Κνώσσιον, οἱ δὲ Σαλαμί-  
νιον, οἱ δὲ Μυκηναῖον, οἱ δὲ Θετταλόν, οἱ δὲ Ἰταλιώ-  
την, οἱ δὲ Λευκανόν, οἱ δὲ Γρύνειον, οἱ δὲ καὶ  
Ῥωμαῖον, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιον.

3 καὶ προσηγορεύετο μὲν κυρίως Μελησιγένης· καὶ  
γὰρ ἐτέχθη παρὰ τῷ Μέλῃτι ποταμῷ κατὰ τοὺς  
Σμυρναῖον αὐτὸν γενεαλογοῦντας· ἐκλήθη δὲ Ὅμηρος  
διὰ τὸ πολέμου ἐνισταμένου Σμυρναίοις πρὸς Κολο-  
φωνίους ὄμηρον δοθῆναι, ἥ τὸ βουλευομένων Σμυρ-  
ναίων δαιμονίαι τι ἐνεργεῖαι φθέγξασθαι καὶ συμ-  
βουλευσαὶ ἐκκλησιάζουσι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

4 γέγονε δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τεθῆναι τὴν πρώτην ὀλυμπιάδα  
πρὸ ἐνιαυτῶν νζ΄. Πορφύριος δὲ ἐν τῇ Φιλοσόφῳ  
ἱστορίαι (fr. 201 Smith) πρὸ ρλβ΄ φησὶν· ἐτέθη δὲ αὕτη  
μετὰ τὴν Τροίας ἄλωσιν ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον νζ΄. τινὲς  
δὲ μετὰ ρξ΄ ἐνιαυτοὺς μόνους τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως  
τετέχθαι ἱστοροῦσιν Ὅμηρον· ὁ δὲ ῥηθεὶς Πορφύριος  
μετὰ σοέ΄.

5 γήμας δὲ ἐν Χίῳ Ἀρσιφόνην τὴν Γνώτορος τοῦ  
Κυμαίου θυγατέρα ἔσχεν υἱεῖς δύο καὶ θυγατέρα  
μίαν, ἣν ἔγημε Στασίνοσ ὁ ὕπατος Κυπρίων· οἱ δὲ  
υἱεῖς Ἑρίφων καὶ Θεόλαος.

6 ποιήματα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀναμφίλεκτα Ἰλιάς καὶ Ὀδύς-  
σεια. ἔγραψε δὲ τὴν Ἰλιάδα οὐχ ἅμα οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ  
συνεχές, καθάπερ σύγκειται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκάστην  
ῥαψωιδίαν γράψας καὶ ἐπιδειξάμενος τῷ περινοστεῖν  
τὰς πόλεις τροφῆς ἔνεκεν ἀπέλιπεν, ὕστερον δὲ

## 6. HESYCHIUS OF MILETUS

Troad, some a Lydian, some an Athenian, some an Egyptian, some an Ithacan, some a Cyprian, some a Cnossian, some a Salaminian, some a Mycenaean, some a Thessalian, some an Italian, some a Lucanian, some from Gryneia, some even a Roman, some a Rhodian.

And he was called properly speaking Melesigenes, for he was born beside the river Meles according to those who make him a Smyrnaean by birth; but he was named Homer because of his being given as a hostage when the Smyrnaeans were threatened with a war against the Colophonians, or because when the Smyrnaeans were deliberating he spoke out through some divine impulse and gave them advice at an assembly debating the war.

He lived 57 years before the establishment of the first Olympiad, or as Porphyry says in his *Philosophical History*, 132 years before; and the Olympiad was established 407 years after the capture of Troy. Some record that Homer was born only 160 years after the capture of Ilion. But the said Porphyry makes it 275 years after.<sup>38</sup>

He married in Chios Arsiphone, daughter of Gnotor the Cymaeon, and had two sons and one daughter. She became the wife of Stasinus, the chief magistrate of Cyprus. The sons were Eriphon and Theolaus.

His undisputed poems are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. He did not write the *Iliad* all at once or in sequence, as it has been put together: he wrote each rhapsody and performed it as he went round from town to town to make a living, and left it there, and subsequently the poem was put

<sup>38</sup> Porphyry's dating agrees with that of the Parian Marble, and must go back to an older source. See Erwin Rohde, *Kleine Schriften* i.89-91.

συνετέθη {καὶ συνετάχθη} ὑπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τυράννου. ἀναφέρεται δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ποιήματα: Ἀμαζονία, Ἰλιάς Μικρά, Νόστοι, Ἐπικιχλίδες, Ἡθιέπακτος ἦτοι Ἰαμβοι, Βατραχομνομαχία, Ἀραχνομαχία, Γερανομαχία, Κεραμεῖς, Ἀμφιαράου ἐξέλασις, παίγνια, Οἰχαλίας<sup>66</sup> ἄλωσις, Ἐπιθαλάμια, Κύκλος, Ὕμνοι, Κύπρια.

- 7 γηραιὸς δὲ τελευτήσας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Ἰωί τέθαιπται, τυφλὸς ἐκ παίδων γεγονώς. τὸ δὲ ἀληθές, ὅτι οὐχ ἡττήθη ἐπιθυμίας, ἣ παρὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄρχεται, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἱστορήθη τυφλός. ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον, ὃ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰητῶν ἐποιήθη χρόνῳ <πολλῷ ὕστερον>, ὥς φησι Καλλίμαχος (fr. 453).

ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὰν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει,  
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θεῖον Ὅμηρον.

<sup>66</sup> Σικελίας codd.: corr. Pearson.

## 6. HESYCHIUS OF MILETUS

together by various people, above all by Pisistratus, the Athenian tyrant. Certain other poems are also attributed to him: the *Amazonia*, the *Little Iliad*, the *Returns*, the *Epikichlides*, the *Ethiepaktos* or *Iamboi*, the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*, the *Battle of Spiders*, the *Battle of Cranes*, the *Potters*, the *Expedition of Amphiaraus*, fun poems, the *Capture of Oichalia*, *Wedding Songs*, the *Cycle*, the *Hymns*, the *Cypria*.

He died old and is buried on the island of Ios, having been blind since childhood. The true version is that he did not succumb to lust, which begins from the eyes, and for this reason he was reported to be blind. There is inscribed on his tomb the following elegy, which was composed by the people of Ios long afterwards, as Callimachus says:

Here the earth conceals that sacred head,  
adorner of warrior heroes, the godly Homer.

## ΒΙΟΣ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ (VITA ROMANA)

- 1 Τὸ μὲν ἄντικρυς εἰπεῖν δισχυρισάμενον τήνδε τινὰ σαφῶς εἶναι τὴν Ὀμήρου γένεσιν ἢ πόλιν χαλεπὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον εἶναι νομίζω· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καταριθμῆσαι τὰς ἀντιποιουμένας τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ πόλεις, τό τε γένος ἐξειπεῖν τὸ ἀμφισβητήσιμον τοῦ ποιητοῦ.
- 2 Ἀναξιμένης μὲν οὖν (FGrHist 72 F 30) καὶ Δαμάστης (fr. 11 Fowler) καὶ Πίνδαρος ὁ μελοποιὸς (fr. 264 Sn.) Χῖον αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ Θεόκριτος ἐν τοῖς Ἐπιγράμμασιν (cf. A.P. 9.434)· ὁ δὲ Δαμάστης καὶ δέκατον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Μουσαίου φησὶ γεγονέναι. Ἰππίας δὲ αὖ (FGrHist 6 F 13) καὶ Ἐφορος (70 F 99) Κυμαῖον· ὁ δὲ Ἐφορος καὶ εἰς Χαρίφημον ἀνάγει τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ Χαρίφημος οὗτος Κύμην ὠικισε. Τιμόμαχος δὲ (754 F 2) καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (fr. 76 Rose) ἐξ Ἴου τῆς νήσου. κατὰ δὲ Ἀντίμαχον (fr. 130 Wyss) Κολοφώνιος· κατὰ δὲ Στησίμβροτον τὸν Θάσιον (107 F 22) Σμυρναῖος· κατὰ Φιλόχορον δὲ (328 F 209) Ἀργεῖος· κατὰ Καλλικλέα δὲ (758 F 13) τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Σαλαμῖνος. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ ὁ Νυσαεὺς (FHG iii.307)

## 7. ANONYMUS I, LIFE OF HOMER (VITA ROMANA)

To assert outright that Homer's origins or city were such and such, I consider difficult, or rather impossible. But it is necessary to enumerate the cities that lay claim to his birth, and to set out the poet's controversial lineage.

Anaximenes, Damastes, and the lyric poet Pindar make him a Chian, as does Theocritus in his *Epigrams*; and Damastes says he was a tenth-generation descendant of Musaeus. Hippias and Ephorus, on the other hand, make him a Cymaeon, and Ephorus even takes his lineage back to Chariphemus, who colonized Cyme. Timomachus and Aristotle have him come from the island of Ios; according to Antimachus he was a Colophonian, according to Stesimbrotus of Thasos a Smyrnaean, according to Philochorus an Argive, and according to Callicles, from Salamis in Cyprus. Aristodemus of Nysa argues him to be a Roman,

Ῥωμαῖον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἔκ τινων ἐθῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μόνον γινομένων, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πεσσῶν παιδιᾶς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπανίστασθαι τῶν θάκων τοὺς ἥσσονας τῶν βελτιόνων ἡκόντων· ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φυλάσσεται παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθῃ. ἄλλοι δὲ Αἰγύπτιον αὐτὸν εἶπον διὰ τὸ {ῆ} παράγειν τοὺς ἥρωας ἐκ στόματος ἀλλήλους φιλοῦντας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἔθος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ποιεῖν.

- 3 πατρὸς δὲ κατὰ μὲν Στησίμβροτόν (107 F 22 addendum) ἐστὶ Μαίονος τοῦ Ἀπέλλιδος καὶ μητρὸς Ὑρινθοῦς ἢ Κρηθηΐδος, κατὰ δὲ Δείναρχον <Κ>ρήθωνος, κατὰ δὲ Δημοκρίνην Ἀλήμονος<sup>67</sup> κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους Μέλῃτος τοῦ κατὰ Σμύρναν ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐπ' ὀλίγον ῥέων εὐθέως εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην θάλασσαν ἐκδίδωσιν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ (fr. 76 Rose) ἱστορεῖν φησιν Ἰήτας ἔκ τινος δαίμονος γεγεννηῆσθαι τὸν Ὅμηρον ταῖς Μούσαις συγχορεύσαντος.

- 4 περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καθ' οὓς ἤκμασεν, ὧδε λέγεται. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν οὖν (fr. 177 Wehrli) αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν πρεσβύτερον Ἡσιόδου· <Π>ύρανδρος δὲ (FHG iv.486) καὶ Ὑψικράτης ὁ Ἀμισηνὸς (190 F 5) ἡλικιώτην. Κράτης δὲ ὁ Μαλλώτης (p.40 Wachsmuth) μετὰ ἐξήκοντα <ἔτη> τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου φησὶν ἀκμάσαι· Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ (241 F 9) μετὰ ἑκατὸν τῆς Ἰώνων ἀποικίας.<sup>68</sup> Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ (244 F 63) μετὰ ὀγδοήκοντα.

- 5 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐκ γενετῆς <Μελησιγένης> ἢ Μελη-

from certain customs that occur only among the Romans: firstly from the game of *pestoi*,<sup>39</sup> and secondly from the practice of inferiors rising from their seats when superiors arrive,<sup>40</sup> customs which are still preserved among the Romans. But others have said he was an Egyptian, because he portrays heroes kissing one another, which is an Egyptian custom.

His father according to Stesimbrotus was Maion son of Apellis, his mother being Hynetho or Cretheis. According to Dinarchus it was Crethon, and according to Democritus Alemon; but according to the majority it was Meles, the river of Smyrna, which flows for a short distance and then at once issues into the adjacent sea. Aristotle says the people of Ios record that Homer was born from a sprite who danced with the Muses.

As to the date when he flourished, the accounts are as follows. Heraclides makes him older than Hesiod, whereas Pyraechtes and Hypsicrates of Amisos make him his contemporary. Crates of Mallos says he flourished sixty years after the Trojan War; Eratosthenes, a hundred years after the Ionian migration; Apollodorus, eighty.<sup>41</sup>

He was called Melesigenes or Melesagoras from birth,

<sup>39</sup> A board game, mentioned in *Odyssey* 1.107.

<sup>40</sup> As in *Iliad* 1.533.

<sup>41</sup> This information is confused. Eratosthenes dated Homer a hundred years after the Trojan War; Apollodorus put him a hundred years after the Ionian migration. See Felix Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik* (Berlin, 1902), 98–107.

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<sup>67</sup> Δημόκριτος et Δαήμονα *Certamen* 3.

<sup>68</sup> τῆς Ἰώνων ἀπουκίας del. Jacoby.



σαγόρας, αὖθις δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐλέχθη κατὰ τὴν Λεσβίων  
 διάλεκτον ἔνεκεν τῆς περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς συμφορᾶς·  
 οὗτοι γὰρ τοὺς τυφλοὺς ὁμήρους λέγουσιν. ἢ διότι  
 παῖς ὢν ὁμηρον ἐδόθη Βασιλεῖ, ὃ ἔστιν ἐνέχυρον.  
 τυφλωθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτω πως λέγουσιν· ἐλθόντα  
 γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον εὔξασθαι θεάσασθαι τὸν  
 ἥρωα τοιοῦτον ὁποῖος προῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τοῖς  
 δευτέροις ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένος· ὀφθέντος δὲ αὐτῷ  
 τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τυφλωθῆναι τὸν Ὅμηρον ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν  
 ὅπλων ἀγῆς· ἐλεθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ Θέτιδος καὶ Μουσῶν  
 τιμηθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν τῇ ποιητικῇ. ἄλλοι δέ φασι  
 τοῦτο αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι διὰ μῆνιν τῆς Ἑλένης ὀρ-  
 γισθείσης αὐτῷ διότι εἶπεν αὐτὴν καταλελοιπέναι  
 μὲν τὸν πρότερον ἄνδρα, ἠκολουθηκέναι δὲ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρῳ· οὕτως γοῦν < . . . >,<sup>69</sup> ὅτι καὶ παρέστη αὐτῷ,  
 φησὶν, νυκτὸς ἢ ψυχῇ τῆς ἡρώϊνης παραινοῦσα καὶ-  
 σαι τὰς ποιήσεις αὐτοῦ, [καλῶς δὲ] εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσοι  
 πράξοι.<sup>70</sup> τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ποιῆσαι τοῦτο.

- 6 ἀποθανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐν Ἰωί τῇ νήσῳ  
 ἀμηχαναίαι περιπεσόντα, ἐπειδήπερ τῶν παίδων τῶν  
 ἀλiviῶν οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγένετο αἰνιγμα λῦσαι. ἔστι δὲ  
 τοῦτο·

ἄσσ' ἔλομεν λιπόμεσθ', ἄσσ' οὐχ ἔλομεν  
 φερόμεσθα.

<sup>69</sup> Lacunam stat. Wilamowitz.

<sup>70</sup> καλῶς δὲ et πράξοι West: spat. vac. litterarum fere vii et  
 πρόσχοι cod.

but later he was spoken of as Homer in the Lesbian dialect on account of what happened to his eyesight, for they call the blind *homēroi*. Or it was because as a boy he was given to the Great King as a *homēron*, which means a surety. They say his blindness came about in this way: he went to the tomb of Achilles and prayed that he might behold the hero as he was when he went out to join the battle arrayed in his replacement armour.<sup>42</sup> When Achilles appeared to him, Homer was blinded by the dazzle of the armour; but Thetis and the Muses took pity on him and honored him with the gift of poetry. Others, however, say he suffered this disability as a result of the wrath of Helen, who was angry with him because he said she had deserted her former husband and gone with Alexander. So at any rate < . . . says >,<sup>43</sup> that the soul of the heroine actually appeared standing before him in the night, advising him to burn his poems, as he would be <all right> if he did so; but he could not bear to do it.

They say he died on the island of Ios after finding himself helpless because he was unable to solve a riddle of the fisherboys. This is it:

What we caught we left behind, and what we missed  
we carry.

<sup>42</sup> See the description in *Iliad* 19.364–398.

<sup>43</sup> An author's name has fallen out.

καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ ἐπιγέγραπται ἐπίγραμμα  
τοῦτο·

ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει,  
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θεῖον Ὅμηρον.

7.<sup>4</sup> ANONYMUS I

And on his tomb is inscribed this inscription:

Here the earth conceals that sacred head,  
adorner of warrior heroes, the godly Homer.

## ΓΕΝΟΣ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ (VITA SCORIALENSIS I)

1 Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς υἱὸς ἦν κατὰ μὲν τινὰς Μαίονος καὶ Ἑρηνόου, κατὰ δὲ ἑνίους Μέλητος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Κριθιδῆος νύμφης. ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος εἰς Καλλιόπην τὴν Μοῦσαν ἀναφέρουσιν. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν Μελησιγένῃ ἢ Μελησιάνακτι κεκληθῆναι, τυφλωθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὕστερον Ὅμηρον κληθῆναι· οἱ γὰρ Αἰολεῖς τοὺς τυφλοὺς ὀμήρους καλοῦσιν.

2 πατρίδα δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ μὲν Σμύρναν, οἱ δὲ Χίον, οἱ δὲ Κολοφῶνα, οἱ δὲ Ἀθήνας λέγουσιν. περιῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἤιδε τὰ ποιήματα· ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὰ Πεισίστρατος συνήγαγεν, ὥς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο δηλοῖ·

τρίς με τυραννήσαντα τοσαντάκις ἐξεδίωξεν  
δῆμος Ἑρεχθιδῶν καὶ τρίς ἐπεσπάσατο,  
τὸν μέγαν ἐν βουλαῖς Πεισίστρατον, ὃς τὸν  
Ὅμηρον

ἤθροισα σποράδην τὸ πρὶν αἰεδόμενον·  
ἡμέτερος γὰρ ἐκείνος ὁ χρύσεος ἦν πολιήτης,  
εἶπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἐπωϊκίσαμεν.

3 φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰωί τῇ νήσῳ διὰ λύπην

## 8. ANONYMUS II THE LINEAGE OF HOMER (VITA SCORIALENSIS I)

The poet Homer was the son according to some of Maion and Hymetho, according to others of the river Meles and a nymph Critheis. Others take his lineage back to the Muse Calliope. And they say he was named Melesigenes or Melesianax, but later after becoming blind was called Homer, as the Aeolians call the blind *homēroi*.

As to his homeland, some say it was Smyrna, some Chios, some Colophon, and some Athens. He used to go round from town to town reciting his poems, and subsequently Pisistratus gathered them together, as this epigram shows:

Thrice I was tyrant, as many times the Erechtheid  
people  
chased me out, and thrice called me back,  
Pisistratus great in counsel, who gathered Homer  
that previously was sung in scattered form;  
for that man of gold was a citizen of ours,  
if you grant that we Athenians founded Smyrna.

They say he died in the island of Ios, starving himself to

ἀποκαρτερήσαντα τελευτῆσαι διὰ τὸ μὴ λῦσαι τὸ  
ζήτημα τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλίων αὐτῷ προτεθέν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
ἐπιστὰς ἤρετο·

ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἀλιήτορες, ἧ ῥ' ἔχομέν τι;  
οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο·

ὅσσ' ἔλομεν λιπόμεσθ', ὅσσ' οὐχ ἔλομεν  
φερόμεσθα.

ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ μνήματι αὐτοῦ οὕτως·

ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει,  
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα, θεῖον Ὅμηρον.

## 8. ANONYMUS II

death in chagrin at not solving the problem put to him by the fishers. For he went up and asked:

O fishermen from Arcadia, have we caught anything?

And they replied:

All that we caught we left behind, all that we missed  
we carry.

On his memorial is inscribed:

Here the earth conceals that sacred head,  
adorned of warrior heroes, the godly Homer.



## ΑΛΛΩΣ (VITA SCORIALENSIS II)

- 1      Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Μέλητος, μη-  
τρὸς δὲ Κριθηΐδος, τὸ γένος κατὰ μὲν Πίνδαρον (fr.  
264 Sn.) Σμυρναῖος, κατὰ δὲ Σιμωνίδην (eleg. 19.1)  
Χίος, κατὰ δὲ Ἀντίμαχον (fr. 130 Wyss) καὶ Νίκανδρον  
(fr. 14 Schn.) Κολοφώνιος, κατὰ δὲ Βακχυνλίδην (fr. 48  
Sn.) καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην τὸν φιλόσοφον (fr. 76 Rose)  
Ἰήτης, κατὰ δὲ Ἐφορον (70 F 99) καὶ τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς  
Κυμαῖος, κατὰ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ Διονύσιον τὸν  
Θράϊκα Ἀθηναῖος. τινὲς δὲ καὶ Σαλαμίνιον αὐτὸν  
εἶναί φασιν· ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀργεῖον· ἄλλοι δὲ Αἰγύπτιον  
ἀπὸ Θηβῶν.
- 2      τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις κατὰ μὲν τινὰς πρὸ τῆς τῶν  
Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐγένετο καθόδου, ὥστε ἔνεκεν τούτου  
γινώσκεισθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαν-  
τας· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν  
Ἡρακλειδῶν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη. τοῦτο δὲ ἀπίθανον ὑπ-  
άρχει· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Ὅμηρος ὑστεροῦντα πολλοῖς  
χρόνοις ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι λέγων (Il. 2.486).

ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν.

## 9. ANONYMUS III (VITA SCORIALENSIS II)

The poet Homer's father was Meles, and his mother was Critheis. By birth he was according to Pindar a Smyrnaean, according to Simonides a Chian, according to Antimachus and Nicander a Colophonian, according to Bacchylides and the philosopher Aristotle from Ios, according to Ephorus and the historians a Cymaeon, and according to Aristarchus and Dionysius Thrax an Athenian. Some even say he was a Salaminian, others an Argive, and others an Egyptian from Thebes.

As to his date, according to some he lived before the return of the Heraclids, so that those who took part in the expedition to Ilion could have been known to him, the time from the Trojan War to the return of the Heraclids being eighty years. But this is implausible, for Homer himself shows that he lived long afterwards when he says

But we only hear the report, and have no personal knowledge.

τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας ἀπολεί-  
πεσθαι ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα.

- 3 οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτοῦ θετέον ἔξω τῆς Ἰλιάδος καὶ τῆς  
Ὀδυσσεΐας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ὑμνοὺς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν εἰς  
αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων ποιημάτων ἡγητέον ἀλλότρια  
καὶ τῆς φύσεως<sup>71</sup> καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἕνεκα. τινὲς δὲ  
αὐτοῦ φασιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ φερόμενα δύο συγγράμ-  
ματα, τὴν τε Μυνοβατραχομαχίαν καὶ τὸν Μαργίτην.

- 4 τὰ δὲ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀληθῆ σποράδην πρότε-  
ρον αἰδόμενα Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναῖος συνέταξεν, ὡς  
δηλοῖ τὸ φερόμενον ἐπίγραμμα <τὸ> Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιγε-  
γραμμένον ἐν εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ {τοῦ Πεισιστράτου}. ἔχει  
δὲ ὧδε·

τρίς με τυραννήσαντα τοσαυτάκις ἐξεκύλισεν  
δῆμος Ἐρεχθῆος καὶ τρίς ἐπηγάγετο,  
τὸν μέγαν ἐν βουλαῖς Πεισίστρατον, ὃς τὸν  
Ὅμηρον  
ἤθροισα σποράδην τὸ πρὶν αἰδόμενον.  
ἡμέτερος καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὁ χρύσεος ἦν πολιήτης,  
εἶπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἐπωκίσαμεν.

- 5 πλανηθέντα δὲ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐν Ἰθάκῃ πολὺν φασί  
διατρῖψαι χρόνον· καὶ πολλὰς χώρας ἀμείψαντα ἐν  
Ἰωί τῇ νήσῳ τελευτῆσαι ἐκ τοιαύσδε αἰτίας. καθημέ-  
νου γάρ ποτε τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἐν αἰγιαλῷ, τυφλοῦ αὐτοῦ  
ὄντος, αἰσθῆσθαι ἀλιέων παρερχομένων, πρὸς οὓς  
εἶπεν·

## 9. ANONYMUS III

Some say that he lived a hundred and fifty years after the Ionian migration.

Nothing is to be acknowledged as his apart from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: the *Hymns* and the rest of the poems attributed to him are to be reckoned alien, in regard both to their nature<sup>44</sup> and their effectiveness. But some say that those two current compositions, the *Battle of Mice and Frogs* and the *Margites*, are his.

His poems—the genuine ones—were formerly recited in scattered form, and it was Pisistratus of Athens who arranged them together, as is shown by the well-known epigram that is inscribed at Athens on his statue. It runs as follows:

Thrice I was tyrant, as many times Erechtheus'  
people  
bundled me out, and thrice brought me back,  
Pisistratus great in counsel, who gathered Homer  
that previously was sung in scattered form.  
That man of gold too was a citizen of ours,  
if you grant that we Athenians founded Smyrna.

They say that Homer travelled abroad and spent a long period in Ithaca; and that after passing through many places he died on the island of Ios from the following circumstance. Homer was sitting one day on the beach—he was blind—and he became aware of some fishers approaching, to whom he said:

<sup>44</sup> Or (with Wilamowitz's emendation) diction.

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<sup>71</sup> φράσεως Wilamowitz.

ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἀλιήτορες, ἧ ῥ' ἔχομέν τι;  
 τοὺς δὲ ἀποκριθέντας εἰπεῖν·

ὅσος ἔλομεν λιπόμεσθ', ὅσος οὐχ ἔλομεν  
 φερόμεσθα.

τὸ δὲ λεγόμενόν ἐστι τοιούτον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν  
 ἔχοντες τότε ἐξ ἀλείας, ἐφθειρίζοντο, καὶ οὐς μὲν  
 ἔλαβον ἐκ τῶν φθειρῶν φονεῦσαι καὶ μὴ ἔχειν, οὐς δὲ  
 οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ ἐσθῇτι περιφέρειν. οὐ νοήσας δὲ  
 τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀπὸ θλίψεως ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Ἰωί τῇ  
 νήσῳ. ἔθαιψαν δὲ αὐτὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς οἱ Ἰῆται,  
 χαράξαντες ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο, παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἔτι γεγραμμένον εἰς αὐτόν·

ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει,  
 ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θείον Ὀμηρον.

### 9. ANONYMUS III

O fishermen from Arcadia, have we caught anything?

And they replied:

All that we caught we left behind, all that we missed  
we carry.

The meaning is this: as they were on that occasion without anything from their fishing, they de-loused themselves, and those of the lice that they had caught, they had killed and no longer had, while those they had not caught they were carrying about in their clothing. But he, not understanding the utterance, died from depression on the island of Ios. The people of Ios gave him a magnificent funeral, and carved on his tomb this inscription which he had written for himself while still alive:

Here the earth conceals that sacred head,  
adorned of warrior heroes, the godly Homer.

## APPENDIX ROMANA

### A

- 1 Τὰ παρατιθέμενα τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς στίχοις Ἀριστάρχεια σημεῖα. ἀναγκαῖον γνῶναι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας.

διπλῇ ἀπερίστικτος	>
διπλῇ περιεστιγμένη	⋈
ὀβελός	—
ἀστερίσκος καθ' ἑαυτόν	✱
ἀστερίσκος μετὰ ὀβελοῦ	✱—
ἀντίσιγμα	)
ἀντίσιγμα περιεστιγμένον	⋈
κεράνιον	⋈

> ἡ μὲν οὖν διπλῇ ἀπερίστικτος παρατίθεται πρὸς τοὺς γλωσσογράφους ἢ ἑτεροδόξως ἐκδεξαμένους τὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ μὴ καλῶς· ἢ πρὸς τὰς ἅπαξ εἰρημένους λέξεις, ἢ πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία καὶ μαχόμενα, καὶ ἕτερα

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<sup>45</sup> By this title I designate further material from the prolegomena to the D scholia on the *Iliad* in cod. Rom. Bibl. Nat. gr. 6, the manuscript from which the first Anonymous Life is taken.

## 10. APPENDIX ROMANA<sup>45</sup>

### A

The Aristarchean signs placed beside lines of Homer.  
(Must be identified by those who encounter them.)<sup>46</sup>

Diple undotted	>
Diple dotted	⋈
Obelos	—
Asterisk by itself	✱
Asterisk with obelos	✱—
Antisigma	⌒
Antisigma dotted	⌒·
Keraunion	⌞

> The diple undotted is placed by a line with reference to the glossographers or others who have interpreted the poet's words in an idiosyncratic and erroneous way; or with reference to words occurring only once, or to contra-

<sup>46</sup> Aristarchus' critical signs, found sporadically in some papyri and medieval manuscripts of Homer, were the subject of treatises by Aristonicus and others. Similar summaries to the present one are found in a few other Greek and Latin sources. See Wilhelm Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* I (Oxford, 1875), xlii-l.



σχήματα πάμπολλα καὶ ζητήματα.

ῥ ἡ δὲ περιεστιγμένη διπλῇ πρὸς τὰς γραφὰς τὰς Ζηνοδοτείας καὶ Κράτητος καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστάρχου καὶ τὰς διορθώσεις αὐτοῦ.

— ὁ δὲ ὀβελὸς πρὸς τὰ ἀθετούμενα ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ἡγουν νενοθευμένα ἢ ὑποβεβλημένα.

✱ ὁ δὲ ἀστερίσκος καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὡς καλῶς εἰρημένων τῶν ἐπῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ ἔνθα ἐστὶν ἀστερίσκος μόνος.

✱— ὁ δὲ ἀστερίσκος μετὰ ὀβελοῦ, ὡς ὄντα μὲν τὰ ἔπη τοῦ ποιητοῦ, μὴ καλῶς δὲ κείμενα ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλῳ.

⊔ τὸ δὲ ἀντίσιγμα καθ' ἑαυτὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνηλλαγμένους τόπους καὶ ἀπαίδοντας.

⊕ τὸ δὲ ἀντίσιγμα περιεστιγμένον παρατίθεται ὅταν ταυτολογῇ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν δεύτερον λέγῃ.

⊖ τὸ δὲ κεραύνιον ἔστι μὲν τῶν σπανίως παρατιθεμένων, δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ πολλὰς ζητήσεις πρὸς ταῖς εἰρημέναις.

τούτων δὲ ἀπάντων τῶν σημείων ἡ ἀκριβεστέρα γνῶσις ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις τῶν συγγραψαμένων περὶ τούτων, καὶ εἴ σοι φίλον ἐπιζήτει παρὰ τῶν τεχνικῶν.

2

> τῇ διπλῇ χρῆται Ἀρίσταρχος πρὸς ἱστορίαν καὶ σχηματισμοὺς καὶ ἐτέρας ποικίλας χρείας.

ῥ τῇ δὲ περιεστιγμένῃ πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον τὸν διορθωτὴν.

dictions and inconsistencies, or to many other figures and problems;

‡ the dotted dipole with reference to readings of Zenodotus and Crates,<sup>47</sup> and of Aristarchus himself and his editions;

— the obelos for what is athetized in the text, that is, what is spurious or interpolated;

✱ the asterisk by itself, to signify that the verses are apposite in the place where the asterisk alone is put,

✱— whereas the asterisk with obelos signifies that although the verses are Homer's, they are not apposite in that place but in another.

∩ The antisigma by itself is used for passages that have been transposed and are out of accord;

∩· the dotted antisigma is placed where he repeats himself and expresses the same idea a second time.

† The keraunion is one of those that are rarely deployed; it too signifies many sorts of problem besides those already mentioned.

For all these signs, more detailed knowledge is to be found in the volumes of those who have written about them, and if you care to, you can seek it out from the specialists.

> The dipole is used by Aristarchus with reference to mythology, figures of speech, and diverse other purposes;

‡ the dotted dipole with reference to the editor Zenodotus;

<sup>47</sup> Aristarchus frequently criticized Zenodotus' readings; much less often those of his own contemporary, Crates of Mallos.

— τῶι δὲ ὀβελῶι πρὸς ἀθέτησιν.

✱— ἀστερίσκῳ δὲ σὺν ὀβελῶι πρὸς τὸ εἶναι μὲν τοὺς στίχους Ὅμηρον, κεῖσθαι δὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ καλῶς, οἷς καὶ ἀστερίσκος μόνος παράκειται.

Θ τῶι δὲ ἀντίσιγμα καὶ τῇ στιγμῇ, ὅταν δύο ὦσι διάνοιαι τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνουσαι, τοῦ ποιητοῦ γεγραφότος ἀμφοτέρας, ὅπως τὴν ἑτέραν ἔληται· τῶι δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ αἱ δύο εὐρέθησαν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχουσαι.

✱ τῶι δὲ ἀστερίσκῳ μόνῳ χρῆται πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς στίχους οἳ κεῖνται ἐν ἄλλοις μέρεσι τῆς ποιήσεως καὶ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντες φέρονται, σημαίνων ὅτι οὗτοι καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ εἴρηνται.

## B

- 1 Ἡ δοκοῦσα ἀρχαία Ἰλιάς, λεγομένη δὲ Ἀπελλικῶντος,<sup>72</sup> προοίμιον ἔχει τοῦτο·

Μούσας αἰίδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον,

ὥς καὶ Νικάνωρ μέμνηται καὶ Κράτης ἐν τοῖς Διορθωτικοῖς. Ἀριστόξενος δὲ ἐν α΄ Πραξιδαμαντείων (fr. 91a Wehrli) φησὶ κατὰ τινας ἔχειν·

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,

<sup>72</sup> Ἀπελλικῶντος Schimberg (-ωνος Ribbeck): ἀπ' ἐλικῶνος cod.

- the obelos for athetesis;
- ※— the asterisk with obelos to signify that the lines are Homer's but are found more appositely in another passage, where the asterisk alone is placed;
- ∩ the antisigma and the point, when there are two sentiments with the same meaning, the poet having written down both, intending to make his choice between them, but subsequently both were transmitted by mistake.
- ※ The asterisk alone he uses where the same lines occur in another part of the poem and they are correctly transmitted (in the present place), to indicate that they have been used elsewhere too.

## B

What is considered the old *Iliad*, the one known as Apellicon's, has this proem:

Of the Muses I sing, and Apollo of the famed bow,  
as recorded both by Nicanor and by Crates in his *Text-critical Notes*.<sup>48</sup> Aristoxenus in book 1 of his *Praxidamanteia* says that according to some it had:

Tell me now, Muses who dwell on Olympus,

<sup>48</sup> Apellicon of Teos was a book collector who died in 84 BC; Sulla brought his library to Rome. The peculiar *incipit* found in his *Iliad* had apparently already been quoted by Crates, who predated Apellicon. Nicanor was a grammarian of the second century AD.

ὅπως δὴ μῆνις τε χόλος θ' ἔλε Πηλείωνα  
 Λητοῦς τ' ἀγλαὸν νιόν· ὃ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθείς.

- 2 τὴν δὲ ποίησιν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι ἀξιοῖ Ζώπυρος ὁ  
 Μάγνης (FGrHist 494 F 3) Αἰολίδι διαλέκτῳ· τὸ δὲ  
 αὐτὸ καὶ Δικαίαρχος (fr. 90 Wehrli).
- 3 αἱ μέντοι ῥαψωιδίαι κατὰ συνάφειαν ἤνωντο, κορω-  
 νίδι μόνῃ διαστελλόμεναι, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενί.

## 10. APPENDIX ROMANA

how it was that wrath and anger seized Achilles  
and Leto's glorious son; for he, angry with the king  
(etc.).

Zopyrus of Magnesia considers that the poem should  
be read in Aeolic dialect, and so does Dicaearchus.

The rhapsodies were joined up continuously, being  
demarcated by a coronis alone and nothing else.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> A coronis is an ornamental marginal symbol used in ancient  
manuscripts to mark the beginning of a new poem, excerpt, etc.



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References are to the Hymns where not otherwise specified. The *Battle of the Weasel and the Mice* is here referred to as *Gal.* (*Galeomyomachia*), and the *Battle of Frogs and Mice* as *Batr.* (*Batrachomyomachia*).

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